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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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6 December 1985

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## ARMS CONTROL

### FRG, U.S. MEDIA ATTACKS ON PHYSICIANS AGAINST WAR CONDEMNED

LD311035 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 31 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow 31 Oct TASS--TASS political analyst Boris Shabayev writes:

Scarcely had the world news agencies circulated worldwide the news of awarding the nobel peace prize to the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" (IPPNW) movement when a turbid wave of lies and slander of a fairly low order rose in some places in connection with that.

The Norwegian nobel prize committee's decision points out that the IPPNW's considerable contribution to disseminating trustworthy information on the disastrous consequences of nuclear war and to bringing it home to people. In the interpretation of the West German DIE WELT, this is portrayed as a "drumming up of fear". The nobel prize committee holds that the participants in the physicians' movement engage in the lofty activities in the name of curbing the nuclear arms race and channelling the expenditures now used for military purpose into the development of health services and into use for other social needs.

Of importance to me is first of all the assertion of the idea of disarmament among modest ordinary people who do not want murderous war and who come out against war in all its forms, French Professor Milliez has said. DIE WELT attacks the IPPNW for allegedly sabotaging "the construction of shelters and the taking of medical measures to combat the consequences of a nuclear disaster".

The nobel peace prize is the recognition of the role and prestige of this public movement. Having originated as a result of the joint initiative of Soviet and American medical specialists, the IPPNW has assumed a truly massive scope within a short lapse of time and now unites 150,000 physicians from 50 countries. However, the WASHINGTON POST permits itself to refer to those people as talkers who have no influence on the masses.

You don't mean that, gentlemen. If it were so, what for is then the entire disgraceful campaign launched around the IPPNW? Is not it the point that the triumpheters of militarism get thrown out of balance by the broad international response roused by the IPPNW's lofty activities which convincingly show the

possibility and effectiveness of rallying people of most diverse political views and religious convictions in the name of the supreme goal: to preserve life on earth?

The U.S. NEW REPUBLIC magazine has expressed most overtly the cause of the malicious attacks on the IPPNW. It turns out that the IPPNW's main "sin" is that the IPPNW's positions coincide with the present official Soviet attitude towards arms control. Just think: Bernard Lown, the U.S. co-president of the IPPNW, professor at Harvard University, is of the opinion that the proposal to create a space-based anti-missile defence system is the most ominous circumstances within the framework of preparation for war, which is leading people to the verge of a precipice.

Well, how can one refrain from the usual "hand of Moscow" retort!

Yes, this is where the trouble lies. In the run-up to the meeting in Geneva, the world public, with the best will in the world, cannot perceive a "hand of Washington" in the cause of preventing war, the cause which is of vital importance to mankind. Washington does not respond with anything constructive or inspiring trust in the sincerity of its peaceable declarations to the Soviet Union's concrete, clear-cut proposals on the cardinal problems of preserving and strengthening peace, the proposals which win increasingly wide recognition and support in the world. By means of a scurrilous campaign against the physicians' movement in defence of peace and life on earth, attempts are being made to conceal from people precisely this deplorable lack of U.S. response.

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CSO: 1812/023

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### UKSSR UNESCO ENVOY ON U.S. 'FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS', EMPLOYEE RIGHTS

LD270333 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 26 Oct 85

[Article by TASS correspondent Andrey Smirnov]

[Text] Sofia 26 Oct TASS--The plenary meeting of the 3rd session of the UNESCO general conference has concluded the discussion of the question connected with the consequences of the withdrawal of the U.S. from this international organization. In the course of the general discussion most delegates strongly criticized the decision of the Washington administration to discontinue U.S. membership in UNESCO. They described it as an open challenge to the world community of nations, as an attempt to deadlock UNESCO or even to wreck it. The discontinuation of the membership in one of the biggest international organizations of an intergovernmental nature is nothing but a political action planned beforehand which is incompatible with the principles of genuine international cooperation, A. Zlenko, representative of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine at UNESCO, has stated.

This step inflicts damage to the multifaceted forms of international cooperation. It undermines the principle of universality on which the whole of the U.N. system is based.

The Ukrainian representative came out for the early overcoming of the political, legal and administrative consequences of the U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO. The need was stressed for the general conference to adopt a decision on the dismissal from UNESCO of the citizens of the country which had withdrawn from it, for they could no longer be employed by that organization both from the legal and the administrative point of view. A. Zlenko stressed in his speech the inconsistency of arguments of the U.S. allies in defense of the U.S. personnel in UNESCO who put forward invented pretexts on the so-called international status of those people for the only purpose of keeping a major U.S. contingent there. Exposing these devices, the Ukrainian delegate drew the attention of the conference to the fact that statements on the international nature of the duties of U.S. employees had no legal force, even more so since they were taxed by the U.S. Government every month. A. Zlenko pointed out that the UNESCO member states did not have to support those employees at their expense.



In connection with the institution of a special mission of U.S. observers at UNESCO, the Ukrainian representative pointed out the expediency of working out principles defining the rights and obligations of the mission, including financial obligations of the country concerned to the organization.

The proposals put forward by the Ukrainian delegate have been reflected in a resolution of the general conference which stresses that the country that withdraws from UNESCO loses all the rights and privileges connected with the UNESCO membership. The resolution also contains the provisions envisaging control over its implementation.

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CSO: 1812/024

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### TROTSKYITE 'TROJAN HORSE' IN ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 2, 8 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by N. Vasetskiy, candidate in historical sciences: "The 'Fifth Column' in the Antiwar Movement"]

[Text] Our readers often ask why we hear so little today about the Trotskyites. What are they doing in different countries and do they have any influence at all in the world?

Current Trotskyism is not an integral whole. It has split up into groups which bicker amongst themselves and are removed from the mass workers movement. They call themselves by the pretentious name of the "4th Internationale."

Although its national sections are active in practically all the developed capitalist and many of the developing countries, according to certain data the overall number of members of these sections fluctuates within the limits of 70,000-100,000 persons. As before, the ideological basis of current Trotskyism remains the "theory of permanent revolution" of Trotsky, which has done great harm to the revolutionary movement. Present-day Trotskyites are trying to align themselves with the mass political currents of modern times--such as, for example, the anti-war movement.

The peace movement is being replenished with ever new currents and organizations and is encompassing ever new social strata of the population in various countries. The enemies of the peace movement are trying to use this specifically, striving to place at odds the anti-war forces operating under dissimilar political and geographic conditions. This is also the method of current Trotskyism.

In their famous "Diary," the brothers Edmon and Jules Gonkury told of one literary critic. "Do you know how I was able to hold on for 20 years?" this old fox said, sharing his methods. "I changed my mind every 2 weeks. If I had always maintained the same thing, they would know me by heart without reading me."

We cannot help but think of this "critic" when we look at the activity of the Trotskyites in the anti-war movement in the capitalist and many of the developing countries.

## UNDER THE GUISE OF LOVING PEACE

A mere 10-15 years ago, they angrily branded any actions to protect peace as being "incompatible with the goals and tasks of the revolutionary movement." Trotskyite ideologists varied Trotsky's well-known slogan, "war is the mother of revolution," in every way possible, without giving much significance to the tragic consequences for mankind with which such war is fraught.

Today, if we listen to these very same leaders of international Trotskyism, there are no more radical fighters for peace than they. "We often hear," complained the leader of the Latin American Trotskyites H. Posadas, "that Trotskyites are villains who fight for atomic war. No, we do not want war..." Posadas is echoed by his French colleagues. "In all times," they announce, "the desire to live in peace was always among the most cherished hopes of peoples."

Goals. However, if, as Lenin pointed out, "we judge people not by the shiny suit which they themselves put on, not by that effective name which they have themselves adopted, but rather by how they act and what they actually propagandize," we are convinced that Trotskyites, as before, are little concerned with the true struggle for peace and least of all worried by the fate of mankind. The Trotskyite announcements in defense of peace are evoked by strictly conjunctive calculations.

Penetrating into the ranks of fighters for peace, the Trotskyites seek to "kill two birds with one stone." First of all, wherever a convenient case arises, they seek to split the ranks of the anti-war organization and to attract its members to their side, thereby strengthening their social base. Secondly, they seek to discredit the peace-loving proposals and initiatives of countries of the socialist alliance, to introduce antisovietism and anti-communism into the minds of proponents of peace, or at least to somehow neutralize the influence of the socialist countries on the participants in the anti-war struggle.

Methods. For this purpose, the Trotskyites have proposed their own "peace program." It is reminiscent of a suitcase with a false bottom. On the top is that which is insignificant for Trotskyism. And that which expresses its true essence and characterizes it as the militant enemy of any peace proposals is conscientiously hidden.

The pivotal point of the Trotskyite program comprises such demands as the immediate dismantling of nuclear weapons, winning the army over to their side, giving soldiers the right to veto arms production, establishing control over the financing and production of atomic weapons on the part of the public masses, etc. The maximalism, forging ahead, and ultra-left phrases which were always characteristic to Trotskyism also make this program clearly unrealistic.

The main point of this program is to present Trotskyism as an extreme left pole in the anti-war movement which may serve as a rallying point for all those who do not agree or are unhappy with the policies of the socialist countries and communist parties on the questions of the struggle for peace. In other

words, the Trotskyite program is called upon to create the impression that Trotskyism stands "for" solving the problem of preserving peace. But it speaks out "against" its by-stage solution, a "half-way" solution. If we must act, they say, then we must act "without looking back," and if we must go, then it should be "to the end," i.e., to the overthrow of world imperialism.

However, the Trotskyites are not able to retain the halo of the ultra-revolutionary fighters for peace. Through their "sheep's clothing" we can clearly see the "wolf's outline," the proponents of war as a universal means of resolving all conflicts and problems. The very same Posadas wrote in one of his latest books: "War is one of the most outstanding events which is capable of shocking society and resolving all its contradictions."

#### THE "TROJAN HORSE" OF REACTION

In their efforts to discredit the policies of the socialist states, Trotskyites are trying to counterpose the tasks of their foreign policy to the goals of the anti-war movement.

Here is how one of the ideologists of the Paris "united secretariat of the 4th Internationale", E. Mandel, is trying to do this. "The anti-war movement may become a mass and unified movement only as a movement which is independent of any government," he writes. Since, he says, the anti-war movement in the USSR and other socialist countries supports the foreign policy of its governments, since it cannot be considered to be "representing the interests of the peoples of its countries," this means that it is not a full-fledged participant in the world movement for peace.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. The basis of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, as well as of the other countries in the socialist alliance, is determined by their socio-economic structure. There is not a single social group in the USSR, let alone a class, which is interested in war and in the arms race, and which prospers from preparations for war. All the plans of the Soviet state are oriented toward creation and toward peaceful construction. The Soviet military doctrine bears a defensive character. All this predetermines the basic goals and tasks of USSR foreign policy. This is why the Soviet people fully support and approve it. Their feelings and aspirations are reflected in the program documents of the CPSU and in the specific policy of the state. The voice of society resounds in full measure in the Supreme Soviet during the discussion of foreign policy questions. War propaganda is against the law in our country, and this fact is clearly reflected in the USSR Constitution.

This is why any discussions about the need for "distancing" the anti-war movement in the socialist countries from the policies of its governments comprise an intentional distortion of their political essence. This is what current Trotskyites are doing, striving to drive the participants of the world peace movement "to different quarters" to the pleasure of the militaristic circles of the West, and thereby to weaken the efforts of this movement in achieving international security.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### CONCERN OVER SOVIET SEAMEN'S CONTACTS IN FOREIGN PORTS

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 2 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by A. Savitskiy, deputy editor-in-chief VYMPEL magazine, USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet: "Soviet Seamen Abroad"]

[Text] Every year, trade connections are developed between the Soviet Union and foreign countries. The overwhelming majority of foreign trade cargo is transported by vessels of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. Every year they visit around 1,100 ports in over 120 countries. Every day there are over 800 Soviet vessels in the ports of various countries.

A. Savitskiy, deputy editor-in-chief of VYMPEL magazine of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, tells of the seamen who have been abroad, and of their impressions.

### GUESTS OF THE SEAMEN

While the vessels are in port, many foreign citizens--up to 2 million people a year--come on board Soviet vessels, aside from those who do so in the course of their work duties. What is it that attracts them on the Soviet vessels? First of all, they are interested in how we live, in what our concerns are, and in what we think. But sometimes the questions which are asked are so naive or even absurd that we must wonder.

Here are a few of them.

"Is everyone allowed to study in the Soviet Union, or only the children of communists?"

"Is it true that one cannot change one's profession in the USSR, no matter what good reason one may have for doing so?"

"Why doesn't the USSR agree with Reagan's proposals on reducing missile weapons?"

Of course, such perception of our life is no accident. Undoubtedly, the influence of the goal-oriented anticommunist propaganda waged in the West is expressed here to a large degree.

It is probably fitting here to cite the words of the American philosopher Ch. Sili: "For an effective promulgation of discredited and outdated ideas on which capitalism rests...it is necessary to have an exceptionally artful propaganda technique geared toward arousing strong emotions, so as to confuse and frighten ignorant people. Without this technique capitalism would soon be defeated."

Well, it would be difficult to add anything to these words.

#### THE USUAL VOYAGE

The steamship "Captain Georgiy Baglay" stood at the dock of the African port of Konakri next to an American passenger liner. Tourists from the American vessel came to visit the Soviet one every day. They looked it over and admired the spacious salons and comfortable cabins. They were interested in the working conditions of the seamen and the amount of their wages. They looked at their family photographs and gratefully accepted our souvenirs. The guests liked Soviet films, especially "The Optimistic Tragedy." It had to be shown several times a day.

This was a typical voyage of a typical Soviet steamship. There was no hint of that of which our enemies in the West like to speak: supposedly, Soviet seamen are specially trained for such meetings, instructed, issued civilian clothing, given specially prepared cabins, etc.

The crews of Soviet passenger vessels often have occasion to meet foreign tourists in the course of their work. We might add that hundreds of thousands of foreign citizens and tens of foreign companies use the services of our passenger liner fleet.

At one time the liner "Taras Shevchenko" worked with the English firm "ChTK", completing line and cruise voyages to the ports of Europe and South America, Australia and New Zealand. Many tourists had high praise for our vessel.

For example, one of the entries in the ship's log, signed by 160 foreign guests read: "'Taras Shevchenko' is a remarkable ship of which you have every right to be proud. The crew are excellent representatives of the Soviet Union and do much to cement the friendly ties between the peoples."

In most cases, our seamen are treated kindly in foreign ports.

#### IN SEARCH OF NEW MEASURES

However, not everyone in the West is amicably inclined toward our country.

At the admission of one of the chiefs of the CIA, "seamen, when they appear on American soil, become an easily accessible medium. And the expenditures for these 'meetings' with them are not great. But the main thing is--where else can we interact so freely with representatives of Russia." And the secret services do "interact," trying to set up provocations. Their arsenal includes blackmail, lies, trickery and bribery.

The handwriting is familiar of the various anti-Soviet and nationalist emigre organizations such as the NTS [not further expanded], the organization of Ukrainian nationalists and similar groups supported by the US secret services and their NATO allies.

The imperialist circles spare no expense for the fabrication of provocation literature. For example, the USA alone has placed over 200 of its propagandist sections in over 100 countries of the world. They publish 140 journals and newspapers in 29 languages, with an overall circulation of 30 million copies.

In their desire to succeed in their improper activities and to gain favor with those who pay them, they strive to find new methods.

Thus, the Swedish anti-Soviet organizations, the "Nationalist Prebaltic Immigration" and the "Baltic Committee" have opened kiosks which sell anti-Soviet literature on the docks where Soviet vessels moor.

The "Posev" publishing house has begun to issue the newspaper VAKHTA, which is addressed to Soviet seamen and fishermen and filled with vicious slander against the USSR.

Stores "specializing" in the sale of goods to our seamen are also very widely used. The salesmen in such stores try to involve the crew members of Soviet vessels in various deals and to disseminate among them gutter literature and anti-Soviet publications.

#### WITH A CROSS AND LIES

The activity of such religious maritime clubs as the "International Seaman's House," the "International Center for Long Voyage Seamen" (De Beer"), the "Maritime Religious Club of the Reformed Christian Church" and others is directed against Soviet seamen. Some of these clubs have a broad network of branches. For example, the "Flying Angel" has 300 sections in various ports of the world.

The names of the clubs are different, but the goals are the same: to slander the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in any way possible, at the same time praising the capitalist "paradise".

Some seamen are caught by these tricks. But instead of "paradise," they find themselves in a society where no one needs anyone else. Their fate is a matter of deep indifference even to the western special services whom they had tried to please by slinging mud at the country where they were born, raised and educated.

An unenviable fate befell the former radio operator of a Soviet vessel S. Kourdakov, who jumped ship in a Canadian port. Finding himself on a foreign shore, he tried in every way possible to slander our country. But finally, when they grew tired of him and the interest in him had faded, he was simply thrown out into the street. This story has a regular ending. Having experienced failure, S. Kourdakov took his own life.

United collectives have been formed on the vessels of the Soviet trade fleet. These are capable of discerning all the falsity in this slanderous propaganda, to expose its insidious methods in a clear, specific and convincing form, and to bring truth to the people about the first country in the world where socialism has conquered. This is facilitated by the extensive experience in political education work among the crew members.

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS INTO MOSCOW DURING YOUTH FESTIVAL EXPLAINED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 23 Jul 85 p 8

[Editorial reply: "Questions and Answers"]

[Text] I have heard that because of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, entry into Moscow will be restricted. Moreover, the restriction applies even to relatives and guests of ambassadors of foreign countries. Is this true?

...P. Perekhodov, Moscow

As we have already reported in our press, there will not be any visa limitations on entry into Moscow for guests of ambassadors of foreign countries during the period of the Moscow festival, even though this was announced in one of the broadcasts of Voice of America. If the ambassadors are ready to give their guests embassy accommodations or the apartments of their embassy colleagues who are on vacation for this time, no one will hinder them. As concerns hotel rooms, these will be given to participants and guests of the festival, and the hotel rates will be considerably reduced for them.

Now, as far as trips on private automobiles are concerned. Every day there will be up to 130 major events taking place at the Moscow festival facilities. Since these facilities are removed from each other, sometimes by tens of kilometers, the city's state auto inspection has asked Moscow residents to limit the use of personal auto transport within city limits in order to avoid traffic jams and to ensure speed, convenience and safety of transport for festival participants and guests and tourists. This measure is fully justified.

Certain limitations are also imposed on state auto enterprises which do not serve the festival. However, there is no question of any total restriction. Drivers from other cities coming into Moscow will have to leave their transport outside the city limits and take public transport or taxis.

There is nothing reprehensible in the fact that the interests and the convenience of the participants in the largest youth forum in the world will be placed above the interests of other citizens for several days.

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CSO: 1807/13

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### U.S., ALLIES USING ECONOMIC COERCION

LD020634 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 1 Nov 85

[Text] New York November 1 TASS--TASS correspondent S. Baybakov reports:

Urgent steps must be taken to prevent the use of measures of political and economic coercion in international economic relations. This conclusion has been formulated in a report by the United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has drawn general conclusions from the views of the U.N. member countries on this problem.

A number of developed capitalist powers, primarily the USA, have institutionalized this unlawful practice as official policy in a bid to prevent progressive socio-economic change in developing countries and to further their economic dependence, the report says. Discriminatory economic sanctions are also used to "punish" them for steps which are not to the liking of the U.S. leadership. One of the latest examples of this policy is a trade and economic blockade of Nicaragua imposed by the U.S. Administration last May.

The report points out that measures of economic coercion are also used by the USA and some of its allies against the USSR and other socialist countries, moreover, sometimes on a larger scale than they are applied against developing states. In the past few years alone the U.S. Government has taken a number of steps, well-known to the world community, to restrict trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

However, the report points out, the history of international trade is replete with examples of attempts to achieve political and strategic goals through restrictions on trade, embargoes and economic blockades dismally failing. These measures disorganize international trade, subvert trust in relations between trade partners, and also adversely affect the interests of all parties involved in international trade and economic cooperation.

The United Nations secretary general states that measures of economic coercion are absolutely at odds with the U.N. Charter, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the declaration and program of action for the establishment of a new international economic order.

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CSO: 1812/27

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### NEW EXPORT CONTROL GROUP HIT

PM171226 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[V. Kalinin "Rejoinder": "Futile Efforts"]

[Text] How many obstacles has the West placed in the way of multifaceted mutually advantageous Soviet cooperation with the capitalist countries! And how many hopes of suffocating our country by blockade and inhibiting its development with economic sanctions have been shattered! But there is still no end of "hardliners." Yet another banning authority, called the "Security and Technology Experts Meetings" (STEM), has been set up under pressure from Washington. The body has the job of "preventing the transfer of strategically important commodities" to the Soviet Union. Japan is a member, along with most NATO countries.

It is reported that STEM has unofficial links with the coordinating committee for controlling exports to socialist countries (COCOM). This committee has already been in existence for more than 3 decades. Enough time, you might think, to have learned lessons from the practice of mutual relations between states with different social systems. There are many well-known examples which lead to the simple conclusion that attempts to damage the Soviet economy by banning equipment supplies and putting a monkey-wrench in its works are bound to fail. Just remember, gentlemen, the story of the large-diameter pipes which the FRG refused to sell us. They were manufactured by industry at home and the USSR accomplished what it had planned to do. And what was the result of the bans in respect of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline? Soviet pipe-laying tractors did the job instead of American ones. And the equipment for the gas pumping stations is labeled "Made in the USSR."

Of course, the USSR is cooperating fruitfully with the countries which are not sacrificing their national interests for Washington's benefit. The members of COCOM have seen on more than one occasion that it is futile to try to frustrate the fulfillment of Soviet economic plans by means of bans. These notorious bans hit U.S. trade and economic partners most of all by undermining their ability to compete. But the new circumstance--Japan's involvement in STEM, set up under U.S. auspices--indicates that Washington is using its political influence to involve Tokyo in actions which may be economically damaging for Japan.

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CSO: 1825/16

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### ZAMYATIN BOOK ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE REVIEWED

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 25, 14 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Al. Romanov under the rubric "On the Fronts of the Ideological Battle": "The Main Source of Danger"]

[Text] APN [Novosti Press Agency] has published a second enlarged edition of the book "The Ideological Conflict and Questions of Peace" by the publicist and international affairs expert L. M. Zamyatin. Like many of the author's other journalistic efforts, this book deals with pressing problems of world politics and Soviet-American relations. Its profundity, clear and accessible exposition of moving human problems and convincing analysis distinguish it.

The book contains the precise character of the USSR's peace initiatives and its positions on the questions of peace, peaceful coexistence, arms reduction and disarmament.

"The Soviet Union," the author writes, "rejects the course leading to military preparations and heightened hostility against other states. We are for peaceful cooperation. We are for normal exchange among countries and peoples, conscientious observance of the standards of international law, respect for the sovereignty of all countries and non-interference in the internal affairs of one country by another."

Further on, in the chapter entitled "Disarmament--a Necessity for Life" he writes, "We never hid and do not hide now that we consider disarmament the ideal of socialism and peace the hallmark of our foreign and domestic policy. The USSR has introduced more than 100 proposals on disarmament, and certainly there is no need to prove that it is prepared to undertake what it has proposed, the most far-reaching measures for disarmament, a general and complete disarmament under strict international control."

At the same time the author exposes the militaristic, risky course of the current U.S. administration, oriented to the use of crude force and the achievement of military superiority over the USSR. This administration has proclaimed the destruction of Socialism as a social form its guiding principle and called for a crusade against the USSR and the Socialist countries collaborating with it. American imperialism today is the main source of military danger. Its aggressive anti-Communist nature is characteristic of current foreign policy

propaganda of the USA, the ruling circles of which have raised the exacerbation of tensions, anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism and the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union to the level of state policy.

The book uncovers the essence of Washington's "new course," which, by hypocritically asserting the USA's "love" of peace and simultaneously generating shameless anti-Communist hysteria, has as its goal to incite hatred among peoples and to distract Americans from the socio-economic problems in their own country, or in Lenin's words, "to stifle the expression of truth by means of pogroms, slander, violence and corruption." Thus, the smell of chauvinistic militarism is in the air, which the military-industrial complex in the USA has been utilizing in order to push the arms race yet another dangerous step further, a step into space.

The author has included articles written at various times in his book. However, they are characterized by a unity of content, consistency of judgment and an assertive quality. In the chapters "The Crusade Continues" and "The Blind Alleys of Confrontation and the Horizons of Cooperation," the author provides analysis of recent events, including the meeting of comrade A. A. Gromyko and Secretary of State G. Schultz on 7-8 January 1985, as a result of which agreement about goals and the subject of new talks in Geneva was achieved.

The talks continue. However, the American delegation's position at them, as reported in the press, is in no way tied to assertions about the USA's peace-loving nature. Meanwhile, U.S. administration representatives, the author writes, "perpetuate their crude, anti-Soviet, anti-Socialist rhetoric, call for the intensification of the ideological struggle with Socialism, and cultivate a mood of hate and suspicion toward the Soviet Union, while at the same time hindering-- premeditatedly and purposefully-- the establishing of mutual understanding between the USSR and USA and a constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union about international problems."

L. M. Zamyatin's book "The Ideological Conflict and Questions of Peace" is a notable event in Soviet journalism. It is reasonable to expect that Soviet readers will greet it with interest.

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CSO: 1807/398

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### BLOC CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO UNESCO HELD

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Jul 85 p 3

[Article from the Ukrainian Radio and Television Agency [RATAU]: "UNESCO: Noble Ideals and Goals"]

[Text] The 23rd joint meeting of Socialist countries' national commissions on the work of Unesco has ended. Delegations from the BSSR, People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, SRV, GDR, DPRK, Mongolian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Cuba, Lao People's Democratic Republic, USSR, UkSSR and CSSR took part. In addition, delegations from the People's Republic of Angola, Democratic Republic of Afganistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Cambodia People's Republic of Kampuchea and People's Republic of Mozambique participated in conference.

Governed by the stated foreign policy of the Socialist countries, conference participants unanimously declared their steadfast support of Unesco as a most important forum for international cooperation directed toward strengthening peace and understanding among peoples and also world civilization. Participants expressed deep concern about the growing threat to peace and security posed by the policy of confrontation and the arms race, whose goal is military superiority. Imperialism, led by the Americans, is pursuing this course.

The socialist countries, committed to ending the imperialist forces' aggressive policies, eliminating the threat of nuclear war and developing broad, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation at Unesco as well as generally, stress in their communique their opposition to dangerous policies that inflame the international situation. Conference participants noted the enormous importance of the victory of freedom-loving peoples over fascism, to the defeat of which the Soviet people made a decisive contribution, and emphasized that the harsh lessons of that war demand that all peoples and states join together in their efforts.

The conference stated that recently Unesco had become the object of bitter attacks from several western governments led by the USA, whose goal was to deflect this most important and prestigious international organization from

its positive policies. The USA's resignation from Unesco and England's threat to do the same are nothing but unacceptable attempts to pressure a United Nations organization and to harm the principle of universality and the foundations of multi-lateral, international cooperation established after World War II.

The conference expressed concern about the attempts to deflect Unesco from its statutory goals and tasks, especially the task stipulated in its charter of actively supporting the maintenance of peace.

Conference participants gave primary attention to discussing Unesco's proposed program and budget for 1986-1987. Participants expressed the conviction that an important part of Unesco's activities during the upcoming two years must be Unesco's contribution to the solutions of such global problems of mankind as preserving and strengthening peace, reining in the arms race, eliminating remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid and also overcoming backwardness, the product of the colonial period. The organization's efforts must also contribute to the resolution of urgent problems of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the areas of education, science, culture and information.

The conference approved a resolution on the occasion of the upcoming 40th anniversary of Unesco in 1986 which contains a call to all member states to strengthen the organization's solidarity and universality in the name of peace and international cooperation. Other resolutions were approved which call on all national commissions on the work of Unesco and figures in science, education, culture and information to participate actively in the measures stipulated by the International Year of Peace and the International Year of Youth.

Delegation heads met with the minister of foreign affairs of the UkSSR V. A. Kravets. Conference participants visited historical architectural sites in both Kiev and Chernigov.

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CSO: 1807/398

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA COOPERATION IN FOOD INDUSTRY

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by V. Gordeyev under the rubric "Levels of Integration in the CEMA":  
"Cooperation Among Food Industry Workers"]

[Text] CEMA member nations recently signed new agreements on scientific and technical cooperation in the development and introduction of sophisticated technologies and wastefree production facilities in various branches of the food industry and also expanded and supplemented agreements on cooperation in the oil and fat, canning, meat and dairy industry. The development of wastefree technologies is directly associated with the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and with recommendations of the Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Member Nations. The fraternal countries pose the task of significantly increasing production and of raising the quality of food products.

The increase in the volume of output is accompanied by increased waste, which reduces the economic profitability of production. This dictates the need for the more complete processing of raw materials in the food industry and other branches of industry and the production of additional quantities of products from them. Thus, production must become more effective and rational and this makes higher demands on the interaction of food industry scientists and specialists in the fraternal countries.

In recent years, our cooperation has primarily taken the form of coordination and joint elaboration of problems in current five-year plans. Joint efforts have also borne real fruit: scores of new products are presently being developed by countries belonging to the [socialist] community. They include such well-known products as Robolact, Robaby, Malysh, Malyutka, Vitalact, Lacto, a vast assortment of ready-to-eat and semi-ready dishes, fast-frozen fruits and vegetables, etc.

Joint research and development efforts have produced a considerable economic effect. Such an effect has been realized, for example, from the interaction of institutes in the Bulgarian People's Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Polish People's Republic, Romanian Socialist Republic and the USSR in the integrated processing of baking and feed yeasts and other products with the full recycling of waste and sewage. Collectives



of Bulgarian, Hungarian, Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists have developed air-ionization food processing technologies to reduce storage losses. Some countries are introducing new techniques for processing fruit, potatoes, onions and other products in order to significantly increase their storage life. Major successes have been scored in the development of techniques for producing whole-milk substitutes from industrial by-products for calves and piglets. The milk butter product that results can also be consumed by humans thereby making it possible to conserve a considerable quantity of whole milk. In the second half of the '70's, the food industry in CEMA countries utilized approximately 200 newly developed products. The introduction of new machinery and equipment, the rational use of raw materials and the reduction of material and labor costs produced an economic gain of 150 million rubles.

In the last 5 years, cooperation among scientists and specialists in CEMA countries has acquired new scope. More than a hundred institutes, organizations and enterprises in the food industry and machine building are participating in joint research. Most research topics are now developed on the basis of agreements and contracts between the corresponding organizations. Participants in this effort include not only food industry personnel but chemists, builders, metallurgists, and medical and biological personnel as well. A number of centers for coordinating various food industry problems have been established within the framework of CEMA.

Collective efforts in fraternal countries are growing continuously. The results attest to their fruitfulness. In the last 20 years, food production has more than doubled and reciprocal food deliveries have increased more than seven-fold. Increased cooperation among CEMA countries in the development of the food industry will promote further increases in food production, improvement of the quality of food and the more complete satisfaction of the needs of our countries' population for food.

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CSO: 1825/104

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### INDUSTRIAL WASTE, SCRAP RECYCLING URGED

#### Use of Secondary Materials

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 15, Apr 85 p 13

[Article by Uwe Begelsach, GDR Deputy Minister for Electronics and Electrical Engineering, "Responsibility for Use of Secondary Materials"]

[Text] In the GDR we have a principle: as a rule, any business or enterprise which generates secondary materials is responsible for their utilization. To the same extent the business or enterprise is responsible for the utilization of wastes resulting from the industrial and public consumption of the products it turns out. These same organizations are performing necessary scientific-technological research in the area of waste processing.

This situation is reinforced by planning measures. Financially, secondary materials are stocked and distributed just like primary materials. The allocation of funds for primary materials calls for the maximum use of secondary materials.

Clearly, all of this is forcing us to find ways to utilize secondary materials effectively. Their procurement and utilization in electrical engineering and electronics businesses and enterprises are part of their basic industrial activity. The responsibility for secondary material utilization is exactly like that for the implementation of other parts of the state plan.

As a result of purposeful efforts, the ministry's combines and enterprises have annually returned to economic circulation 38 percent of the ferrous metals used in the manufacture of their products, 8 to 10 percent of non-ferrous metals, and 10 to 12 percent of the contact materials (gold, silver, palladium). In addition, fragments of grinding disks, wastepaper, spent oil, rags, broken glass, and thermoplastic waste are being collected. These secondary materials are processed either by the ministry's works and enterprises, or in special cases they are transferred to other departments.

A special part of the scientific-technological program which the ministry develops annually is devoted to the utilization of waste. Special attention is reserved here for the utilization of those wastes, which have yet to find suitable application: slag and sludge containing metal, broken alloyed glass, and fatty sludge. Also, such problems as the creation of an effective

technology for the extraction of valuable components (nickel, molybdenum) from waste are not lost from sight.

Specialists of the scientific-research section are working closely with the production people on these problems. Worker initiative in this area is being encouraged in every way possible.

Thus, wastes containing rhenium, tungsten, and molybdenum, are generated in the production of X-ray tubes. These wastes have been piling up for many years because there had been no way to process them. Innovators at one of the enterprises devoted themselves to this problem and found a way to separate the rhenium, which is recycled to production, from wastes.

One of the big problems we are working on today is the collection from consumers of worn electrical and electronic items and their subsequent processing for the purpose of extracting precious metals. In order to facilitate procurement, a list of items containing valuable metals has been compiled. This list shows the areas of application of such production; also, the components manufactured from precious metals are specified.

Industry turns out a huge quantity of cells (every kind of battery), which are discarded after use. However, they are an important source of zinc. Specialists in the field have devised methods of utilizing cells, and beginning in May 1984 the collection of cells from enterprises and the public was organized.

Of course, we understand there are still many untapped reserves. We are faced with finding uses for a whole series of wastes, which at present are unused material resources.

#### Joint Effort With GDR

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 15, Apr 85 p 14

[Article by Ya, Medredkov, Permanent Secretary of the Soviet Side of the Intergovernmental Commission for USSR-GDR Scientific-Technical Cooperation, "Cooperation of Soviet and East German Collectives"]

[Text] The possibility of more fully utilizing secondary materials and industrial wastes to supply the economy with raw materials is a problem with which all socialist countries are grappling. In the USSR, the GDR, and other countries of the CEMA, substantial efforts are being made to conserve resources. In this connection, the exchange of experience and findings and close cooperation in joint development of new methods and technologies for processing secondary resources both on a dual bilateral and multilateral basis have acquired ever-growing significance. The practice of the joint work done within the framework of the CEMA committee for Cooperation in the area of Material-Technological Procurement and also in the process of bilateral cooperation between the GDR and the USSR has proven its value. Thanks to this, the work of finding existing resources of secondary materials, their collection and processing has improved.

Between the USSR and the GDR, a mutual exchange of information, standards, and technical documents on the problems of collecting, processing, and utilizing public and industrial wastes has been carried out.

In 1984, the ministries, unions, combines, and enterprises of the two countries worked on a comparative analysis of the expenditures of material and labor resources for the production of 29 types of products. For comparative analysis, 146 elements of expenditures were chosen. Of these, the overwhelming majority--95 percent--related to material resources. Here, the possibilities of replacing primary with secondary materials were studied. The results were used to implement measures for conserving resources.

This experience in cooperation was further developed this year. Today, the comparative analysis of expenditures encompasses approximately 60 types of the most diverse industrial products: furniture, tool steel, glass, bridge cranes, linoleum and air conditioners. Specific areas of cooperation aimed at putting various wastes into economic circulation were contemplated. Thus, the possibilities of adapting the deposits which form on waterworks as a reagent for sewage purification, methods of jet aeration for the purification of concentrated run-offs from hog farms, and the utilization of biogas, which is released in the process of the biological purification of sewage.

Scientific cooperation is among the joint measures of the Gosplan of the USSR and the Ministry of Material-Technical Procurement of the GDR. Specifically, Soviet workers have aimed technical documentation at means for small-scale mechanization of the processes of sorting and processing secondary materials, containers for their transport, and instructions for calculating their economic effectiveness. In turn, information on methods for determining the economic effectiveness of utilizing wastes as well as various technical and planning documentation has been sent by the GDR.

The unification of standards for secondary textile resources is one of the most significant works. In the USSR and the GDR, 11 unified standards for all sorts of waste are now in effect. Our next task is to continue this work on other types of secondary materials.

Examining the results of joint activity in the area of procurement and utilization of secondary materials, it must be ensured that the potential of the two countries to find joint solutions to important problems is utilized more fully in the future. From our point of view, more attention should be paid to the joint design and production of means for streamlining the collection, preparation, transportation, and transfer of secondary materials, as well as methods, technologies, and equipment for more fully processing industrial wastes.

The task of those responsible for this bilateral organization consists of coordinating the necessary measures for direct cooperation.

To solve the problem of utilizing the available industrial wastes in the two countries, even closer cooperation of the appropriate ministries is necessary. Both countries possess extensive means for accelerating through joint progress in the utilization of secondary material reserves.

## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### SOVIET AID TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Moscow PLANOVYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 103-109

[Article by Professor V. Popov, doctor of economic sciences: "The USSR and Developing Countries: Cooperation in the Area of Planning"]

[Text] The Declaration adopted at the Moscow Economic Summit Meeting of CEMA countries (1984) expresses a readiness to expand diverse economic ties with developing countries on the basis of long-term programs and agreements, making use of various mutually beneficial forms. One of these forms is cooperation in the area of planning.

Many developing countries are now turning to the USSR for help in working out their own plans for social and economic development, in training planning specialists at Soviet VUZes (at Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev universities, the Friendship of Peoples University imeni Patrice Lumumba, and other institutions), in the organization of an efficient planning system and the creation of planning organs (which includes visits by Soviet specialists who serve as advisors to various state departments), and so on. This type of assistance is being given to developing countries with a socialist orientation, India, and several other developing countries with a capitalist orientation.

Practice has shown that Soviet experience in planning has been useful not only for countries of socialist cooperation, but for many developing countries as well. The value of this experience lies in the fact that the Soviet Union was a pioneer in the area of social and economic planning; it has a huge amount of practical experience in drawing up long-term, medium-term, and current (annual) plans; it has a well-organized, tested system for accounting, monitoring, and obtaining statistical information on all the most important indicators in current and long-term plans for social and economic development.

After the Second World War, Soviet experience in planning the development of the national economy started to be used in a number of Eastern European and Asian countries that had embarked on a course of socialist construction. In recent years many elements of the Soviet experience in planning have been used and are still being used in developing countries, and in India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, among others. In some of these countries central planning organs have been created or are being created.

The growing demand in developing countries for state planning in 1979 spurred the UNCTAD leadership to appeal to Soviet specialists with the request that they prepare a report on the status of planning in this group of countries, which is evidence of recognition of the USSR's role in the development of social and economic planning and of the fact that it serves as an example for these countries. Certain elements of the report prepared by the Soviet scholars were subsequently used as the foundation for classifying developing countries in terms of their level of economic planning and the effectiveness of the state's influence on various forms of a multi-structural economy, taking into account the condition of state control and regulation of economic processes.

Soviet specialists did a great deal of work for the Development Planning Committee of the United Nations. Recommendations prepared by Soviet specialists on the possibility of and need for application of balance methods are now being used by many young states in the development of plans and programs for social and economic development. These methods have been used especially extensively in developing countries of socialist orientation. It is with these countries that the USSR has gained considerable experience in economic cooperation as a whole, and in the area of planning.

There is a large group of Soviet specialists now working in Angola. They helped prepare a law concerning the national plan for the economic and social development of the People's Republic of Angola (which was adopted by the government in 1981), in addition to annual plans for 1982 and 1983 and a special plan for social and economic development for 1983-1985. These plans helped the republic overcome some basic difficulties tied to outside aggression and counterrevolutionary actions from within.

Soviet advisors and consultants in Afghanistan in the late 1970s and early 1980s contributed a great deal to the reorganization of the operation of the state system, the introduction of a state planning system, and strengthening plan and financial discipline; they prepared proposals for more efficient utilization of material resources, improving capital construction, developing various sectors of the economy, increasing the extraction of various minerals, and so on. With their help a number of important legislative documents on improving planning and economic management were drawn up and then adopted by the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] leadership. For example, in the formulation of the plan for the DRA's economic and social development for 1981-1982, the number of plan indicators was expanded, itemized lists of projects and development programs were prepared, along with a plan to put the most important capacities into production and to set up a payment balance, and financial resources were redistributed and concentrated at the most important projects and construction sites.

Soviet planners did some equally important work in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. The 1981-1985 second five-year plan for the economic and social development of the PDRY, which was prepared with their direct assistance, has led to an acceleration in the country's economic development. In the first four years of the five-year plan the rate of growth in the country's gross national product increased from 3.5 to 4.7 percent (estimated).

The sectorial and departmental plans drawn up annually since 1982 with the help of Soviet specialists have also played an important role.

The Soviet Union has provided a great deal of practical assistance in the 1980s to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in organizing economic planning. Primary attention was given to the creation of organizational foundations of planning and the introduction of planning principles in the operation of both individual sectors and the national economy on the whole, and to improving the structure of the planning, financial, and statistical systems that are involved in the formation of the first four-year (1983-1986) plan to develop sectors of the national economy. Between 1980 and 1983 Soviet specialists helped prepare drafts of the following documents: the statutes of the Ministry of Economic Coordination, Planning, and International Cooperation, provisions governing the Statistical Services of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and others, which now form the foundation for the statutes of these organizations that are currently in effect.

Soviet consultants have been doing some important work in Ethiopia for several years now: they are helping implement balance methods of planning. Between 1980 and 1982 Soviet specialists developed and presented to the leadership of the Central Planning Supreme Council of Ethiopia a number of methodological materials dealing with issues in national economic planning. They helped draw up a long-term plan for the country's social and economic development (1984-1993), the Basic Directions of which were approved (1984) by the First Congress of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia; and they helped draw up the fourth annual plan for the social and economic development of Ethiopia for 1981-1982; they played an active role in summarizing the results of the fulfillment and the analysis of the third annual plan of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign. An important direction in the joint work being done by Soviet and Ethiopian planners is the meetings of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. Recommendations on specific problems are made on the basis of the commission's activities.

Soviet planning advisors and consultants in Mozambique have been participating for several years in the work of a planning commission to develop long-term and annual development plans.

The People's Republic of the Congo received assistance in drawing up the 1982-1986 five-year plan for the country's economic and social development, which was confirmed at the end of 1981 by the National People's Assembly. This plan now determines the entire economic, social, and cultural life of the Congolese people. The plan places special emphasis on strengthening the state sector, and a great deal of attention is given to the development of agriculture. The strengthening of state forms and the creation of production cooperatives have laid a solid foundation for improving agricultural production. In addition to providing assistance in the preparation of the five-year plan, Soviet specialists analyzed data and materials from the National Planning Council and sectorial commissions and offered their own conclusions about these materials; together with Congolese specialists they worked out more precise forms and indicators for the five-year plan, earmarking the indicators to be monitored; they provided methodological and practical



assistance to associates of the Ministry of Planning and industrial ministries in drawing up plan drafts for the development of various sectors of the economy. Additional methodological clarifications were prepared for some of the divisions and passed on to the Congolese. In conjunction with Congolese specialists, calculations were made of the production output of the most important goods in 1982-1986, and the corresponding notes were made justifying the possibility and necessity of producing those goods.

A group of Soviet planners in Nicaragua is helping draw up the 1985 annual plan for social and economic development and a long-term plan that is to last up until 1990. This work is based on a generalization of experience that has been gained, an analysis of practical work, and the preparation of proposals regarding the development of cooperation between Soviet and Nicaraguan specialists in the area of social and economic planning.

On the whole, in the mid-1980s there are contacts in the area of planning with almost 30 developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and with a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations. Special agreements on cooperation in the area of planning have been signed with many of these countries. In accordance with these agreements joint commissions have been established (along with subcommissions and working groups), which have been assigned the task of developing bilateral cooperation in social and economic planning, and exchanging experience and specialized knowledge in this area.

India occupies a special position among the young states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This country was a pioneer not only in the utilization of Soviet experience in the construction of large state-owned industrial enterprises, but also in social and economic planning and other progressive forms of foreign economic ties. The Soviet and Indian press have repeatedly provided information about the fruitful influence of Soviet-Indian economic, scientific, and technical cooperation on other developing countries, including cooperation in the area of social and economic planning. Much of what has become typical today for ties between the USSR and countries that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke appeared for the first time in Soviet-Indian relations.

The founder of the independent Indian state and its first prime minister, Jawarhalal Nehru, assigned a great deal of importance to cooperation with the Soviet Union and to its role in accelerating the development of the national economy. It was at his initiative and with his direct participation that the first such agreement in the world was signed for the construction in Bhilai of the largest metallurgical combine in any developing country. At his initiative in 1954 a group of Soviet specialists was invited to India to help draw up the second five-year plan for the Republic of India. Convinced of the effectiveness of social and economic planning on the basis of the implementation of this plan, he wrote: "Confident movement forward can be achieved only through planning according to the socialist model."<sup>2</sup>

The Joint Soviet-Indian Research Group on Issues in Social and Economic Planning was formed, and from the very start it was one of the agencies of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. One of the purposes of this group is to exchange



experience and knowledge in economic forecasting, the methodology involved in annual, medium-term, and long-term planning, the formulation of plans and programs for economic development, the methodology for monitoring the fulfillment and evaluating the results of programs and plans, planning the delivery of raw materials and supplies, among other issues. With the aim of increasing the effectiveness of its work the parties promptly familiarize one another with the reports prepared for the various meetings. On the basis of the results of each meeting, the planning group submits a report to the Intergovernmental Commission with accompanying recommendations and information on the work that has been done.

Depending on the issues discussed at the meetings, in addition to staff members of the USSR State Planning Committee, the Soviet side of the planning group may include representatives of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the USSR Foreign Trade Bank, sectorial ministries and departments, and other specialists. In the years since its formation, the planning group has done a great deal of work in social and economic planning and forecasting the development of a multi-structural economy.

The experience gained by Soviet specialists in drawing up economic plans under the conditions of India's multi-structural economy, the largest share of which belongs to the private sector, turned out to be useful in providing assistance between the 1960s and 1980s to developing countries with a multi-structural economy, such as Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Egypt, the People's Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Libya, Mozambique, Syria, Uganda, Ethiopia, and others. As more experience accumulated, there were improvements in the forms and methods for working out the plans for the developing countries, in the organization of planning organs, and in the theoretical foundations and principles of the process involved in the preparation, implementation, and monitoring of plans and their fulfillment.

In the last three decades over 300 social and economic plans have been drawn up and implemented to some extent in more than 100 developing countries. These plans have dealt primarily with the entire state sector, but with every year the private sector is playing a more and more active role in their implementation. The growing role of state planning in these countries in recent years can be seen in the fact that it now encompasses practically all spheres of economic activity and it is becoming an important lever in the management of social and economic processes. The prerogatives of planning organs are expanding. They are gradually gaining more and more rights of control and administrative influence.

The conditions in developing countries are unequal, both in terms of the level of economic development and their social and political orientation, evidence of which can be seen in an analysis of the plans published in the 1980s. Only a few of these countries (India, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Singapore, among others) have industry that is relatively developed. The majority have a very low level of economic development. There is a very small intermediate group (Algeria, Iran, Venezuela, Malaysia, among others). Their economies are characterized by a level of industrial and agricultural development that is average for developing countries.

Differences in the economies and politics of young states have an effect on the methods used to draw up their plans and programs, formulate the goals and aims of planning, and determine the volume and direction of investments and sources for their financing. Primary attention here is focused on the functioning of the leading sector of the economy--agriculture; in some countries, attention is given to the infrastructure, and in just a few states, to industry, and this primarily involves the extractive industries. However, taking into account the recommendation worked out under the aegis of the United Nations "International Development Strategy for the 1980s" program, in addition to specific conditions and material and financial possibilities, the majority of developing countries are striving to achieve the rate of economic growth planned by the United Nations, which is possible only on the basis of higher rates of growth in the processing industry and stable rates of growth in agriculture.

A graphic example of this can be seen in Algeria, which recently completed realization, on the whole, of its fourth five-year plan (1980-1984), which was adopted at a special congress of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in June 1980 (before this there had been one three-year plan and two four-year plans). In December 1983 at the Fifth FLN Congress the basic directions of the new 1985-1989 five-year plan for the country's social and economic development were approved. In addition to the development of the processing industry, the plan calls for emphasis to be placed on agriculture, the production of consumer goods, and improving the workers' material status.

Thanks to social and economic planning, Algeria is gradually changing from an agrarian-raw materials country, which it was in the first years of its independence, into an industrial-agrarian country. The course toward industrialization of a formerly backward economy made it possible to create, on a planned basis and with the economic and technical assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, a whole series of sectors of heavy industry (oil and gas, petrochemical, metallurgy, machine building, and others). And although the extractive industry still plays a leading role in the country's national economy, the processing industry, including machine building, has been developing rapidly, especially in recent years. In 1982 5500 trucks were produced, along with 700 buses, 4500 tractors, 7400 diesel engines, about 42,000 motorcycles and mopeds, and 26,200 televisions, among other things.

With the aim of strengthening the planning foundations in the economy, the Algerian government has carried out a number of progressive social and economic transformations, particularly in agriculture, the sector that employs more than half of the republic's population. Cooperatives and state farms were created out of lands seized in 1962 and 1963 from foreign settlers. The agrarian reform carried out between 1972 and 1982 contributed a great deal to the strengthening of the national economy; this reform limited the ownership of large land holdings and herds of livestock among private individuals, and allocated land to landless peasants. Now 38 percent of the land under cultivation belongs to the state sector (2.7 million hectares). This sector provides about 40 percent of the country's agricultural commodity production and is the material base for agrarian planning.

In addition, at the recommendation of planning organs structural reorganization of the state and cooperative sectors is now being carried out with the aim of

increasing the profitability of agriculture. Important steps have been taken to improve the management of state farms and cooperatives, to step up the economic incentives provided for agricultural workers, and to increase capital investments in the state and cooperative sectors. In recent years some of the unprofitable cooperatives have been liquidated. At the same time the state is providing assistance to small and medium-sized peasant farms that are helping to achieve plan indicators for the production of the most important agricultural crops. The government is allocating financial resources for these farms, and it is also providing economic and technical assistance.

The state's involvement in agriculture is necessary because of the extraordinarily high dependence on food imports. In the early 1980s Algerian agriculture met only one-third of the population's demand for food products. The country spends over one-third of its all currency revenues on the import of the bulk of its essential food items (grain, dairy products, vegetable oil, sugar, etc.). Nonetheless, thanks to planning methods for managing the economy, the Algerian government has managed to do a great deal to improve the material welfare of the workers. A guaranteed minimum wage has been established. The state allocates the necessary subsidies to support prices for essential food products. Since 1974 there has been free medical care and elementary education for the people. In terms of the scale of its social and economic transformations, Algeria is now the leader among developing countries.

The USSR and other CEMA member countries are providing a great deal of assistance to many young states not only in working out national plans, but in their implementation as well, especially in agriculture; this is in connection with the food situation which has continued to grow worse over many years. Graphic evidence of this can be seen in the construction and reconstruction of hydraulic engineering and irrigation structures, mechanized farms for the production of grain and oil crops, cotton farms, and in the erection of livestock farms, poultry factories, veterinary centers, scientific research stations and laboratories to introduce new, highly productive methods for carrying out dry farming and irrigation farming, and so on.

With the help of the USSR, hundreds of agricultural projects have been built in 62 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin American in a 20-year period.<sup>4</sup> One of the most significant projects built with the help of the USSR in a developing country, in accordance with a national plan, is the Euphrates Hydroelectric Power Complex--the largest in the Near East. The following data give an idea of its size. The 12 billion cubic meters of water stored in the Al-Asad reservoir is sufficient to irrigate 640,000 hectares of dry land. This reservoir alone makes it possible for Syria to double its area of irrigated land. The joint Soviet-Turkish construction (with equal participation) of a hydroelectric complex on the Akhuryan River on their common border is a unique project. The dam being built there (59 meters high and 224 meters long) and the reservoir (with a capacity of 525 million cubic meters of water) will make it possible to irrigate over 100,000 hectares of dry and previously unfertile land on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish border.<sup>6</sup> A third project in this region is also impressive--a main canal in the Kirkuk-Adheim irrigation system in Iraq. It was put into operation within the time limits set in the country's long-term plan--in November 1983--and it makes it possible to irrigate 362,000 hectares of dry land which had previously been considered unfertile.

Soviet specialists are helping economists in developing countries master the methodology of social and economic planning, and they are carrying out joint scientific developments to improve both planning and forecasting of social and economic processes, and to improve the organs involved in these issues. In the late 1970s the first steps were taken to coordinate plans for the development of individual sectors in the USSR and young states. Between 1976 and 1980 staff members of the USSR State Planning Committee held consultations with several countries with a socialist orientation with the aim of determining their demands for essential imported goods and the possibility of exporting goods from these countries to the Soviet Union up to 1985 and 1990. These consultations are now held every year, which makes it considerably easier for the two sides to coordinate their plans in the area of foreign economic ties.

The USSR's cooperation with young states in the area of planning creates favorable conditions for the expansion and efficient utilization of many forms of foreign economic ties that have already been tested, along with new forms. Along with the increase in the production in the Soviet Union of various goods for export to developing countries, new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation are deepening the international division of labor between the USSR and these countries which is being formed gradually.

The Soviet Union's expanding cooperation in the sphere of social and economic planning with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression makes it possible not only to orient the development of their economies, especially that of the state sector, into a planning direction, but also to establish the scale, structure, and rate of growth in mutually beneficial foreign economic ties, and to see that the necessary measures are taken promptly by both parties in order to strengthen these ties. Planning of foreign economic ties strengthens coordination of foreign trade operations, economic and technical assistance and other forms, and creates the necessary conditions for further optimal formation and deepening of mutually beneficial international division of labor.

Progressive leaders of young states are drawing the proper conclusion that the main problems facing their countries--eliminating backwardness and achieving economic independence--cannot be resolved under conditions of spontaneous, uncontrolled economic development. The realities of life convince them that without economic planning they cannot solve these problems. At the same time, successful implementation of planning depends on a material base. Recognizing the importance of this situation, the United Nations "International Development Strategy for the 1980s" program focuses a great deal of attention on the need for industrialization in order to improve the national economy and expand the positions of the state, on the importance of introducing planning principles in economic development, and limiting and regulating private, especially foreign, business enterprises.

The economic activities of young states today are being influenced, on the one hand, by state-monopolistic capitalism, and on the other hand, by world socialism, and the experience of socialist construction. Despite the opposition by imperialist powers and their transnational corporations, the idea

of creating a state sector in the economies of developing countries has received widespread recognition (it was approved by the United Nations).

Foreign capital puts up resistance to measures taken by young states to strengthen the state sector and expand its functions, fearing that such measures could undermine the position of the transnational corporations, and deprive foreign businessmen of profitable markets. The irreconcilable conflicts between developing countries and imperialist powers in this sphere are growing deeper and constantly becoming more aggravated. The urgent needs of hundreds of millions of people require that the national economies be strengthened, the continuing drain on raw material resources be limited and eliminated, and that the exploitation of the workers by monopolistic capital be terminated.

These difficult problems cannot be solved without serious social reforms, and the development and strengthening of the state sector of the economy and introduction of planning principles into the economy occupy an important position here. The role of the state sector is determined by its participation in the creation and utilization of the gross national product, in the production of goods and services and total capital investments, and by the distribution of the working population among the sectors.

The experience in national economic planning in the USSR and other socialist countries serves as an example to young states of the effectiveness of introducing planning principles as a basis for the state's determination of the goals and aims of social and economic development, identification of specific ways and methods of achieving these goals, carrying out progressive social and economic transformations, and mobilization of material, financial, and manpower resources needed to fulfill current and long-term development plans and programs.

Introduction of planning principles requires recognition of the essence and mechanism of action of economic laws, and conscious and efficient utilization of these laws in the practical operations of planning organs. A necessary element of scientific planning of social and economic processes is determining the principles and methods involved in the development and implementation of current and long-term plans, that is, planning methodology. It is planning methodology that helps to coordinate the effect of objective economic laws and the subjective actions of those who draw up plans, write the laws, and execute the plans.

On the basis of the example set by the USSR and other socialist countries, leaders of developing countries were convinced of the effective resolution, in an historically short period of time, of the complicated and difficult tasks of wiping out economic backwardness. The magnetic force of the Soviet example is growing steadily. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that in the early 1950s only an insignificant number (10) of liberated countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America had their own plans for social and economic development; but in 1984 their number had reached 120.

An important reason for the popularity of economic plans is that uncontrolled market regulators do not help resolve the main problem facing this group of

countries--eliminating economic backwardness. On the contrary, in the past 35 years (1950-1985), their backwardness in terms of economic development calculated on a per capita basis has increased by a factor of almost 2.5 compared to capitalist countries.

Now issues in social and economic planning (in directions such as evaluating the prospects for world economic development, modelling and forecasting the development of certain groups of countries and regions, the methodology of national economic planning, etc.) have become an important sphere of the United Nations' activity. They are at the center of attention of all international economic organizations, and especially the special institutions of the United Nations. These organizations generalize the experience of economic planning in developing countries, draw up recommendations on the methodology of economic planning, they send experts to work in liberated countries, hold conferences and international seminars, prepare forecasts of the economic development of individual countries and regions, organize courses and seminars to improve the skills of planners from young states at their teaching centers, and so on.

The USSR's participation plays an important role in the work of the special UN organizations. The basic directions of this cooperation are outlined in the plan-model for developing cooperation in the area of planning between the USSR and developing countries and international UN organizations for the period between 1981 and 1985 and up to 1990.

Naturally, in this area there are conflicts among the various points of view on issues of social and economic planning and the role of the state, sources of financing, and the structure and aims of the plans being drawn up. The primary conflict is between specialists in socialist and Western methodology for planning and economic development. Imperialist powers are trying to impose their planning methodology on young states, which makes these states' economies dependent on the West.

The USSR's influence on the planning process in developing countries through international organizations and UN economic institutions is of great importance for these countries. The Soviet Union is now performing this function by transferring Soviet experience in the methodology of social and economic planning, providing technical and economic support for key national economic projects that are being created, implementing comprehensive special programs, and by making use of Soviet experience in meeting the goals set in the United Nations "International Development Strategy for the 1980s" program.

The question regarding the character and methods of social and economic planning is still the most important issue in the economic strategy and policies of the governments of developing countries. A scientifically sound resolution to this problem can do a great deal to increase the effectiveness of planning management methods and eliminate shortcomings both in the agencies called on to carry out economic management, and in the planning instruments themselves.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. UNCTAD-V. TD/243 Suppl. 4., Manila, May 1979, p 3.
2. AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW, Vol 10, No 8-9, 1958, p 6.
3. ME I MO, No 1, 1985, p 82.
4. VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, No 10, 1984, p 16.
5. Ibid., pp 18-21.
6. JUMHURIET, 14 February 1984.
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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### INSTITUTE AIDE ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DISPUTES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by E. Obminskiy, doctor of economic sciences; deputy director, Institute of the International Labor Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences: "Transoceanic Skeleton Keys to 'Pandora's Box'"]

[Text] A famous ancient Greek myth tells how the beautiful, extremely curious Pandora opened a forbidden box thereby loosing strife, conflict and other evils on mankind. Since that time, the expression "to open Pandora's box" has meant a dangerous step leading to grave, unpredictable consequences.

The American administration is by no means a Pandora who did not know what she was doing. Persistent attempts by the White House to take the economies of the liberated countries under its "patronage", to open them up for invasion by Western are all the more dangerous. Naturally, imperialist powers also demanded various kinds of benefits and a favorable climate for their monopolies in the past. But the point at issue today is not individual concessions and compromises. Rather it is the demand that the developing countries revise their domestic policy entirely and install private capitalism on an accelerated basis.

When U.S. President Reagan conveyed this idea to participants in the meeting of representatives of developed capitalist and certain developing countries in Cancun (Mexico) in 1981, it seemed to many that it was merely wishful thinking on the part of the knight of "free enterprise." However, imperialism and its tools in the form of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have exploited the difficult situation (confronting young countries as a result of the crisis in the capitalist economy in 1980-1982), the vast growth of their indebtedness to the West which has almost reached the trillion dollar mark, mass unemployment, and exceptionally adverse weather conditions in many countries, and today are openly demanding the "introduction of capitalism" in exchange for "easing" the financial burden of the developing countries. THE ECONOMIST, a London journal, characterized the West's "new course" as: "Aid, but only to those who espouse capitalism." The sting of Washington's doctrine is obviously primarily directed against countries with a socialist orientation. But even



for many capitalistically developing countries, the prescribed dose of "private initiative" dashes hopes for national economic development plans.

Emissaries of the IMF and transnational banks have long ago settled down in the capitals of the developing countries and have introduced a unique "price list" for every payment default--from the transfer of individual branches of the economy to the private sector to the total elimination of state social programs. There was a kind of victorious ring to reports that many economically lifeless countries, who were already paying an unbearably high price for their "partnership" with Western corporations and financial institutions, had been compelled to agree to the terms of the Fund. Indeed, the developing countries paid approximately \$42 billion in interest to transnational corporations (TNC's) on loans and direct investments in 1983 and almost \$50 billion in 1984. It is estimated that these payments in the current year will amount to \$57 billion.

Thus the result is obvious to everyone: the inevitability of increasing debt-slavery. Even the ultraconservative AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS JOURNAL, while insisting on "tight" U.S. controls on all loans by international organizations to developing countries, emphasizes: "the terms of IMF loans mean falling into the spiraling abyss of debts, which will inevitably require new rescue expeditions and will perpetuate dependence on foreign aid."

But there are also other, no less dangerous consequences. The "open economy" that the West demands of the developing countries is called "open" because it, like a ship on the ocean, is subject to all the storms and winds of merciless competitive struggle, financial manipulations and unpredictable market conditions. To be sure, the developing countries are promised that everything will turn out all right if they follow in the wake of the capitalist economy's flagships. But the calculation of the West is quite obvious: young countries plunged into private capitalism must, like Kai in Andersen's tale of the Snow Queen, must forget everything that binds them together, must renounce solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle and, divided by mutual competition, will one-by-one fall easy prey to international capital.

It is also taken into account that after the departure of the colonialists, many developing countries have been left not only with a weakened economy, but also with deep-rooted, centuries-old religious, ethnic, caste and other discord and numerous territorial conflicts. These smoldering, difficult-to-eliminate blockages from the past can intensify many-fold flareups of competitive struggle.

The "rules of the game" foisted upon the developing countries by the West are designed to intensify the contradictions between them. Against the background of new protectionist barriers erected by the USA and Western Europe against the commodities of the liberated countries, the competitive struggle is intensifying between the textile producers in Southeast Asia, between coffee producers in Latin America and Africa, and between other producers elsewhere. In violation of a previously concluded agreement, the USA, for example, sells tin from its "strategic reserves." This forces Singapore to accept cheap ore from smugglers in order to keep up with the competition. The result is the keen displeasure of Thailand from which the ore is stolen. Another example:

in the effort to avoid paying high taxes, American shipowners, while promising to pay generously to register their vessels under so-called "flags of convenience," try to sow discord among African countries that have harbors in the Indian Ocean (Mauritius, Madagascar, Somalia).

There is increasing competition among those desiring to give the European Economic Community a lease to fish in the 200-mile economic zones of the African states. More and more frequently, the African countries are one by one negotiating with powerful groups of international capital. The "action plan" adopted by the OAE [Organization of African Unity] in Lagos in 1980, provides for individual actions up to the year 2000, with emphasis on collective self-security.

Commenting on what is happening, African economist J. Omo-Fadaka writes bitterly: "Many countries are evidently undermining or "cutting the ground out" from under one another in an effort to obtain "better conditions" for themselves in these negotiations irrespective of the damage that this may inflict on the successful implementation of the "action plan."

As always, the right-wing, reactionary regimes are the initiators of this latest imperialist diversion. Thus, according to the world press, the new law passed on the Chilean mining industry in December 1983 turned Chile--a world copper exporter--into a paradise for foreign capital investors and into a "trojan horse" of the monopolies in the group of copper-exporting developing countries. Imperialist actions make themselves known in mounting friction in the Organization of Oil-Exporting Countries (OPEC), in international trade agreements in which the developing countries participate, and in associations of raw materials-exporting countries.

The outline of such a dangerous consequence of "private initiative" becomes increasingly apparent with the passage of time: young countries are forced to resort to bitter competition with one another, a competition in which the role of "arbiter" belongs to the West.

Regarding this danger, the journal AFRICAN BUSINESS writes: "It is possible to foresee the not so distant future when the IMF may become the only architect of Africa's future. Will Africa remain passive in the face of such an attack on its sovereignty?"

This is a serious question that goes far beyond the African continent. Powerful demonstrations by the masses in the developing countries against the surrender of positions to monopoly capital and for the strengthening of their independence and the unity of the anti-imperialist front of young countries, which in recent years have led to the fall of a number of odious reactionary regimes and their departure from the political stage, attest to the fact that imperialism has not succeeded in blunting the peoples' vigilance.

Washington's prohibition on trade with Nicaragua, which is calculated to suffocate this freedom-loving country with the "bony hand of hunger," is also suffering a shameful defeat. As the May meeting of Western leaders in

Bonn showed, even the USA's most "reliable" partners refused to join in the American embargo on commercial ties with Managua.

Responsible political and social figures in the developing world realize that today young countries, in particular, must have a clear perspective of progressive internal socioeconomic reforms and unified actions in the international arena. One recalls Indira Gandhi's warnings "against the blind imitation of Western models," against unbridled private enterprise.

Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania and one of the most prominent champions of the unity of action of African countries, candidly stated in an interview with the journal SAUS that if one or another country becomes reconciled to its status as a "client" of the West and regards such a situation as normal, it makes it extremely difficult for the developing countries to pursue a unified policy. The third ministerial conference on the role of trade and finances in African development, which was held in May 1984, was receptive to the idea that "our economic programs should not be calculated to be attractive to those who are offering foreign economic aid."

The policy of young countries to mobilize their own efforts is dictated by the events, by all their experience with Western "aid" agencies. And it clearly contradicts the "breakup" of the state sector--the policy on which the West insists. According to the Latin American regional office of the International Labor Organization, the intensification of the action of spontaneous market factors in recent years led not only to the unprecedented growth of indebtedness, but to other major imbalances as well: the level of unemployment in 1980-1983 was 50 percent higher than in any other preceding period, real wages declined, and the gap in income distribution increased. What is the answer? The research finding was unanimous: "The state must assume principal responsibility in the development process. Leaving ideological considerations aside, the present situation is such that there is no other alternative."

The facts show that jubilation in the West about the "opening" of the economies of the developing countries to enterprising operators was premature. The independence of young states was attained at too dear a price to permit it to be the victim of internecine struggle. The recent restoration of relations between Uruguay and Cuba was one more nail in the lid of 'Pandora's box' which Western experts at fanning conflicts are trying to open. Heightened interest throughout the world in strengthening and expanding many-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows that peoples are trying to close the chapter on the Cold War for all time.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

USA INSTITUTE AIDE ON U.S. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 85 p 4

[Article: "Promises and Reality"]

[Text] As information agencies have reported, the American economy continues to "spin its wheels." According to the Commerce Department, the U.S. gross national product in the second quarter grew only 1.7 percent. Our correspondent, I. Ivanko, asked Yu. I. Bobrakov, sector chief of the USA and Canada Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, to comment on the current state of the U.S. economy.

In the face of the failure of the "growth policy" that was begun in the early '60's and the crisis of the existing system of government-monopoly regulation of the American economy, the ruling circles in the USA have begun looking for ways of solving the country's economic problems on the basis of "Reaganomics," which is supposed to "break the cycle of negative expectations," revive economic growth, and regenerate "entrepreneurial instincts" and "optimism and confidence in the future."

Nevertheless, the 1980-1982 crisis was the longest since the "great depression" of the '70's; contrary to optimistic official predictions, the post-crisis recovery of the American economy was not stable and was not a "powerful generator" of economic growth.

U.S. economic growth dropped sharply in the first quarter of the current year, giving rise to fears that the nation's economy would soon enter the next phase of the recession. A slight upsurge in economic activity in the second quarter proved to be very weak and did not dispel these fears, all the more so because industrial production was stagnant for 9 months and employment in industry continued to decline. The utilization of American enterprises' production facilities declined to 80.4 percent of capacity; this was the fifth drop in 6 months. According to the Commerce Department, the unemployment level in 17 American states was higher than the indicator for the preceding year. Unemployment in West Virginia rose to 11.6 percent; in Louisiana--to 11.1 percent. The unemployment level rose considerably compared with last year in Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota and Texas.

U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT noted: "Such signals, which were received following reports of economic growth of 0.3 percent in the first quarter, are the cause of alarming thoughts as to how long the present upsurge will continue." "The economy is close to a recession if it has not already entered one," New York forecaster Gary Schilling warned in mid-June.

Stagnation also affected science-intensive branches of the nation's industry, in particular, the electronics industry, which had been in trouble since last fall as a result of the oversaturation of the domestic market with its products and the continuing offensive of Japanese competitors.

American economists are presently debating whether the present deterioration of the economic situation is a forerunner of recession or whether the recession will come somewhere later. But there is little doubt that it will come. In any event, economic experts agree that the administration's promises to secure real economic growth of four percent in 1985 have proven insolvent and that annual growth will not exceed 2.5 percent.

In an attempt at optimism, the same U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote that "the sputtering American economy is not yet out of gas." "Nevertheless," the magazine admitted, "the growth rate will come to naught in mid-1986."

What is more, as TIME magazine reports, budget deficits "threaten to grow by the incredible sum of \$200 billion a year for the rest of the '80's." As P. Volcker, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, announced, the rapid growth of current indebtedness (both public and private) in the USA is a threat to the economy and the financial system.

In the past year, the U.S. national debt rose by \$722 billion, i. e., by 14 percent--the largest increase in indebtedness in the nation's history. In 1985, the USA became a debtor nation for the first time since 1917. It is estimated that "net" U.S. foreign indebtedness may grow to \$1 trillion by 1990. American economists are sounding the alarm and are emphasizing that the transformation of the U.S. economy into a "debt-ridden economy" will become the principal inhibitor of economic growth.

Based on a poll of 1500 leading U.S. corporations, Conference Board, an influential research organization, concluded that U.S. business circles are pessimistic about the country's economic perspectives.

"Such a dramatic change in the mood of businessmen," anxiously notes D. Kliggott, one of the poll's originators, "reflects the weakness of the national economy and the approach of serious difficulties."

Official promises to "restore" the American economy to high, stable and long-term growth rates are obviously not being met. The knot of economic problems is becoming tighter and tighter.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

POSITIVE RESULTS OF GENEVA MEETING DEPEND ON U.S. GOODWILL

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Sep 85 p 3

[Report by Tengiz Gamkrelidze, ZARYA VOSTOKA political commentator, under the heading: "Facts and Commentary in the Wake of Events": "A Path To Detente, or a Road Leading Nowhere?"; subtitled, "M.S. Gorbachev's Replies to Questions from TIME Magazine--The Center of World Attention; People on All Continents Demand--Listen to the Voice of Reason; 'There is an Enormous Amount of Constructiveness'--Testimony of the World Press; Prior to the Meeting at Geneva: What do the Leading Nuclear Powers Have to Offer?"]

[Text] Only a few weeks are left until the leaders of the USSR and USA meet in Geneva. It is no exaggeration to state that everyone in the world expects from this summit meeting answers to the principal question which disturbs everyone, which was very precisely formulated by M.S. Gorbachev: "The principal question to which we must respond is: Are we finally ready to admit that there is no other way than to live with one another in the world; are we ready to re-shape our way of thinking and acting from a warlike to a peaceful manner?"

When one of the leaders of the West German Social Democrats was asked how he evaluates the replies of M.S. Gorbachev to the American magazine TIME, he characterized them as a document with "an enormous amount of constructiveness". This weighty definition reflects the main idea which permeates the numerous responses from all corners of the globe: the Soviet Union is in fact, and not merely by words, demonstrating its striving and its determination to conduct the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva constructively and in a manner to produce results.

It is very unlikely that any event of international significance of late could give rise to such enormous interest as the replies of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev to the American magazine TIME. There has been an unending stream of analytical articles by international commentators and statements by politicians and prominent representatives of the public of various nations. In explaining such exceptional attention, TIME Magazine remarked that "M.S. Gorbachev's statements were exceptionally detailed and frank, and touched on a wide range of questions."

Yes, this is so. In spite of the intrigues by those who are opposed to easing the international situation and normalizing Soviet-American relations, the Soviet union is filled with determination to carry on its

active struggle against the arms race and for eliminating the nuclear threat. M.S. Gorbachev's statement--that the Soviet side is coming to Geneva with genuine goodwill, with the desire to do everything possible to strengthen the peace--was welcomed throughout the world. "The meeting should bring satisfaction not only to the peoples of our countries," stressed M.S. Gorbachev, "but also to the peoples of the entire world. If the American side displays goodwill, the results of the meeting can be positive."

A vivid example of our peace-loving policy was the Soviet Union's introduction on 6 August--the date of the Hiroshima tragedy--of a unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions. No matter what some Western commentators and skeptics assert about this policy, no one can belittle the significance of this bold step. It was dictated by genuine aspirations for creating favorable preconditions for a complete ban on testing nuclear weapons. Not everyone knows that having unilaterally ceased all nuclear explosions our side has suffered certain economic losses, since certain of these peaceful explosions were utilized, for example, for creating storage spaces for gas condensate.

But everyone knows that the USSR has put forth a number of initiatives, having made our goal a total ban on testing and deploying in space any kind of space-based weapons for destroying objectives on the Earth, in the air or in outer space.

A proposal was also put forth for a moratorium on the creation, testing, and deployment of nuclear space weapons, to include scientific-research work; and for freezing our strategic offensive arsenals--for the entire period of the Geneva talks.

Wherein lies the significance of a nuclear test ban? Testing is a kind of accelerator of the nuclear arms race. With the aid of tests, new kinds and types of weapons of mass destruction are developed, and existing systems are improved.

Clearly, a test ban would be an effective measure which would radically slow down this entire process. Actually, without testing, in time a nuclear arms race would become impossible.

But what of the USA? The Reagan Administration has not only refused to follow the example of the Soviet Union, it continues to implement its nuclear program at a breakneck pace.

In spite of the hopes and desires of the nations, the USA has turned down the USSR's initiative. Initially attempting to distort the true meaning of the Soviet step and to sow doubt on the sincerity of our intentions and actions, Washington found no better response than to carry out nuclear tests at the Nevada test range on 17 August. The answer to our moratorium was... another nuclear blast.

And that's not all. The President of the USA has informed Congress, that new tests of antisatellite weapons would begin in the near future.



In the course of these tests, a missile with an autonomous guidance unit will be launched for the purpose of destroying an American satellite which has outlived its usefulness. Then it is planned to launch antisatellite weapons against a specially-designed space target vehicle, to be parked in a near-Earth orbit. It will be equipped with instruments which should transmit data on the results of the new weapon--a sort of battering ram, which does not explode--hitting the satellite.

Reagan's decision was motivated by "the interests of US national security." Administration representatives have once again attempted to convince the world public that the testing of the antisatellite weapon allegedly will lead to progress in the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons.

It goes without saying that nothing could be farther from the truth.

The plans of the US Administration to conduct testing of combat antisatellite systems against a target in space, which in essence is an important component of the Star Wars program, is giving rise to growing criticism throughout the world.

This step cannot be interpreted as anything other than a signal of the fact that Washington is not anxious to hold talks with the Soviet union on reducing weaponry. Especially awkward is the time for making this decision, at the threshold of the summit meeting in Geneva.

The testing of an antisatellite weapon is not a chance episode in the arms race being conducted by the USA. Antisatellite weapons are dangerous in and of themselves, inasmuch as their unrestricted development creates a threat to the satellites which already serve for early warning and communications, in case of a possible crisis.

In this connection it is rather interesting to note that the ASAT aviation-missile antisatellite arrangement was designed to strike earth satellite vehicles in orbits at altitudes up to 1,000 km. The goal they are pursuing consists of putting out of order the Soviet space systems which serve for warning, and command and control communications, in the event the United States launches a nuclear first strike.

The ASAT consists of an F-15 fighter and a two-stage missile with a start weight of nearly a ton, which is equipped independently of the interceptor with an infrared guidance system as well as a laser gyroscope, an on-board computer and several dozen mini-thrusters. According to the Pentagon's plans, the aircraft takes off to launch the missile on command of the Space Defense Center at NORAD--the Unified Command for Aerospace Defense of North America at Colorado Springs.

The missile is launched from the aircraft at an altitude of nearly 15 km to the calculated area of space; then the self-guidance system takes over, and the target is destroyed with a direct hit by the intercepting missile.



Squadrons of aircraft equipped with ASAT missiles are to be deployed at McCord and Langley Air Force Bases in the states of Washington and Virginia. By 1988 a modernized operations center is to be put into operation at Colorado Springs for controlling the intercept of objects in space, with the capability of carrying out missions for the control of ASAT complexes. The total number of "space interceptors" will reach 112, and the Pentagon plans to deploy the majority of them outside the limits of the USA.

A year ago, on 10 June 1984, the warhead of a Minuteman ICBM was intercepted over the Pacific Ocean at an altitude of 160 km.

Already in 1959 a satellite, Explorer-6, was intercepted for the first time with the aid of a missile launched from a B-47 bomber; and in the 1960's research was carried out to create satellite interceptors--projects Bambi and Saint. In the years 1963-1967 the USA deployed an antisatellite complex on Kwajalein Atoll based on the Nike-Zeus antimissile missile, and in the years 1964-1975 an experimental-operational antisatellite complex was created on Johnson Island based on the Thor missile.

Nor do the affirmations of the White House representatives on the necessity for continuing tests to improve and supplement the nuclear arsenal stand up to criticism, when one takes into consideration the fact that the reserves of such weapons of mass destruction already built up are already more than enough. Illustrative in this respect is the book by the prominent American experts on arms questions, William Arkin and Richard Fieldhouse, "Nuclear Battlefields: Global Links in the Arms Race". According to their calculations, nuclear weapons are already stockpiled in 28 states in the USA. In addition, they are deployed in eight other states: the FRG, England, Italy, Turkey, Greece, South Korea, Belgium and the Netherlands. In England, for example, twice as many American nuclear warheads are stored than the British have in their own armed forces.

Plants for production of nuclear warheads, nuclear test ranges, and stations for tracking and guiding missiles are situated in 40 foreign countries, where there are nearly 680 American objectives in the "nuclear infrastructure."

"The world must be made secure not with the aid of new technology, but by means of political and diplomatic efforts." These words of a commentator of the NBC television network bear witness to the fact that even in the USA itself the danger of "Star Wars" and the significance of honest, constructive negotiations, which the Soviet Union is calling for, are becoming ever more clearly recognized.

The White House and the US State Department are asserting that the USA is purportedly planning to conduct tests of antisatellite weapons in order to "promote discussion" of the corresponding questions at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons.

What is this--another attempt to use power pressure on the USSR? Or does the US Administration believe that in demonstrating their "firmness" and hardness in this manner they can show that they hold the trump cards which will force the USSR to make concessions at the negotiating table?

"For the USA," writes space weapons specialist T. Keras, "creating the ASAT would not make sense if they did not plan to make the first nuclear strike and start a nuclear war." In other words, the Pentagon would like to have the capability to deliver a strike on Soviet satellites for the purpose of "blinding" the other side, weakening its ability to retaliate in the event of a nuclear attack.

If the USA would respond positively to the proposals of the USSR, this would create a favorable atmosphere for achieving agreements between the two sides in the sphere of arms control, and would significantly lessen international tensions.

Our country is taking a precise and clear-cut position in Geneva on the key question of the talks--space weapons. It is proposing an agreement on banning the creation--including scientific research work, testing and deployment--of strike weapons in space. At the same time we believe that the already-existing antisatellite means of the USA and the USSR, the testing of which is not completed, should be destroyed.

Both at the Geneva talks and in the course of exchanges through diplomatic channels, the USA has refused and continues to refuse to examine any kind of measures to ban and limit antisatellite weapons, presenting the matter in such a way as if the solution of this problem is impossible. Thereby they are deliberately creating an artificial cul-de-sac, a kind of "road to nowhere."

But then what does the USA want to achieve at the forthcoming meeting? Many signs bear witness that the American side would prefer to turn the talks into a kind of fight between political "supergladiators" in order to tie up their partner, and to gain extra propaganda points. It goes without saying that such an approach is alien to the Soviet Union. We are counting on an honest dialog, without any preconceived notions, filled with aspirations to find a way back from the nuclear precipice.

At the same time as the Soviet Union is consistently calling for a freeze of the nuclear weapons of all nuclear powers, the USA is steadily building up reserves of such weapons, and is inventing more and more new and refined varieties.

One might ask, how can this be reconciled with the pharasaical assurances from Washington on their devotion to the matter of arms reduction, on their desires for a constructive dialog at the summit meeting in Geneva? Evidently, such statements are made in a manner calculated to calm American and world public opinion, which demands from Washington specific steps in response to the Soviet initiatives. In actual fact, the White House as before is proceeding from the position that there can be no question whatever of any sort of agreements with the USSR.

It is not for nothing that the Austrian newspaper PRESSE frankly states that, "Certain circles in Washington would like, for political reasons, to downplay the significance of the summit meeting, and would like nothing better than to call it off." In the words of the newspaper, the American capital is actively considering how to best achieve this with minimal losses to itself: "How can Washington turn down the meeting, or try to so anger the Soviets that they themselves would turn down the summit meeting?"

The world public is very alarmed at such political zig-zags. People of good will are placing great hopes on the forthcoming meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the USA. The world is currently going through difficult times. Perhaps never before has humanity been faced with such a significant threat of catastrophic nuclear war, as in our days. And a great deal, if not everything, depends on Soviet-American relations. The search must be made for a way to relaxation of international tensions. Otherwise we may find ourselves in a thermonuclear cul-de-sac.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### SED'S MUECKENBERGER ON STRENGTHENING PARTY RANKS

AU020601 Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 19, October 85 (signed to press 24 Sep 85) pp 75-80

[Article by Erich Mueckenberg, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission: "Striving for Further Ideological-Political and Organizational Strengthening of Party Ranks"-- "Article is based on the author's speech at a meeting of workers of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee and of party commissions of the Moscow Gorkom and Obkom"--date not given]

[Text] Great benefits are derived from the exchange of experience between the CPSU and SED leading organs, which has already been carried on for several decades now. This exchange testifies to the indestructible and tested militant alliance of the fraternal parties and represents the expression of our loyalty to socialist internationalism, our increasingly great cohesion, and our mutual enrichment for the purpose of solving the vital tasks of the contemporary stage.

In his speech at the 10th plenum of our Party Central Committee (in June 1985), E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, noted the great significance of the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in May this year. He emphasized that both sides had highly appraised the close fraternal cooperation between our parties which plays an increasingly great role in the task of carrying out the plans--outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress--for social and economic development in both countries, and of implementing the general policy of peace.

The 10th plenum of the SED Central Committee enthusiastically approved the results of the meeting of the general secretaries of the two central committees at which questions concerning the further deepening of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and currently important international problems were discussed in an atmosphere of complete unanimity. The results of the meeting testify to the unity of views of both parties, including their view in the sphere of further expansion of ties in all fields for the good of our people.

The role of our strengthening cooperation continues to grow in the course of preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress. There is no doubt that it will acquire even greater significance after the congresses.

For a long time already, we have been preparing for the 11th SED Congress and, under the party's leadership, have actually drawn into this work all working people, all classes and strata of the people, and all friendly parties and social organizations included in the National Front. The great and significant events in the social life of our people are also used to further these preparations. Thus, the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitlerite fascism and of the liberation of the German people from Nazi barbarity were celebrated as a great festive day in the GDR.

Our finest memorial to the glorious Red Army, the German antifascist resistance fighters, and all participants in the struggle against fascism are our concrete deeds to strengthen the first socialist state on German soil. At the same time, these deeds are also the GDR's contribution to the preservation of peace.

The class enemy is furious over the fact that the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory and liberation has convincingly demonstrated that socialism has grown deep roots in the GDR. No one is now able to change the fact that the people of our republic remains forever a loyal and reliable friend and ally of the USSR.

We have received with joy and approval the news that, as a sign of deep respect for the memory of German antifascist fighters, the Soviet Union opened the memorial Museum of German Antifascists in Krasnogorsk and also built a monument to Ernst Thaelmann in Moscow Square that is named after him. This is yet another symbol of internationalism and of the indestructible friendship between the USSR and the GDR.

The great successes achieved by the working people in our entire economy represent a striking testimony of the GDR people's confidence in the SED policy. These successes also show the fruits of our indestructible alliance with the main force of the socialist community, the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Ensuring the party's leading role on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism is the basis of all successes achieved in building a developed socialist society.

Our party is advancing toward its next regular congress with greater unity and solidarity than ever before. Despite all its intrigues, the class enemy has failed to make a breach in our ranks. The class enemy has also failed to realize its intention to provoke dissatisfaction and opportunist attitudes among the GDR population. Nevertheless, we consider the struggle to ensure the unity and purity of party ranks, to implement and assert the Leninist norms of party life, and to effectively apply the principles of democratic centralism to be our everyday task and a firm component party of the political and organizational preparations for the 11th Party Congress.

This work is carried on in accordance with the resolution to the SED Central Committee Politburo on verification and reregistration of SED members and candidate members, and on holding individual talks with them during the preparations for the congress. This will promote the further ideological-political and organizational strengthening of party ranks, the development of internal party democracy, and the strengthening of discipline.

The important tasks are to intensify the militancy of party organizations, ensure the fulfillment of the party's decisions by every communist, and to raise the level of socialist consciousness. What is indispensable in this connection are a constant control by the bezirk party committees [rayonnyy komitet parti] and their concern to ensure that party members fulfill--always and in every respect--their statutory obligations and rights, and that all party committees and every individual communist help deepen the trust between the party and the people, between the party and youth. The cause of further growth of the party's leading role as an objective law of development raises great and serious tasks for all members and candidate members of party control commissions.

In our party control work we strive to take into consideration in every way possible the increased ideological-political, spiritual, and scientific-technological level of the workers class, the peasant cooperative members, and the intelligentsia, their level of organization, and the strengthened class consciousness of the communists, the workers class, and all strata of the population.

The higher criteria applied in the evaluation of the level and quality of party work result from an increasingly closer combination of the advantages of socialism with achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and the objective tasks of further construction of the developed socialist society. The step of socialism is becoming stronger in the world and the significance of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community is growing. New tasks for us also emanate from a deepening general crisis of capitalism and the resulting course of imperialism toward confrontation and increased arms race which the United States is striving to transfer to outer space.

Considering all this, the Central Party Control Commission of the SED Central Committee concludes that raising the level of the party's militancy on the basis of strict observance of the statute, and intensifying the role of communists as an example for imitation represent a most important requirement by which we must be guided more persistently than ever before in our party control activities today. For wherever this is not ensured, the danger of weakening the confidence of the popular masses in the party's policy always arises.

The duty of the party control commissions is to help raise the level of class consciousness, develop internal party life, ensure the communists' unity of theory and practice, and ensure the implementation by the party and social organizations of the policy of broad alliance with all classes and strata of population.

Today, this depends more than ever before on every individual communist and on the question of whether his words are not at variance with his deeds. The main concern of the SED Central Committee in the course of the aforementioned individual talks is precisely to ensure and increase the party's leading role in socialist society.

In conducting these talks, we direct the communists to be equal to their political responsibility. Proceeding from this, members and candidate members of the party control commissions participate in the work of the groups formed by secretariats of the SED kreis [okruzhnoy] and bezirk committees for the conduct of individual talks. They participate in the elaboration of demands that must be applied in relation to every party member in order to advance to new and higher levels that will be outlined by the 11th Congress.

This naturally makes it necessary for the Central Party Control Commission and the kreis and bezirk control commissions to analyze self-critically their own work and its forms and methods. The SED Central Committee strictly watches over the assertion of the Leninist style in the party, the style that is characterized by the unity between words and deeds and between adoption and fulfillment of decisions, efficiently organized control, the collective nature of leadership, and careful selection, distribution, and education of cadres. Dogmatism as well as a perfunctory, thoughtless, or mechanical approach to the fulfillment of tasks are alien to the Leninist style of work. The Leninist style also requires constant accountability for the progress in the fulfillment of tasks that have been set and for the results of the work carried out.

The party considers the Leninist style of work to be a unified whole. We workers of the party control commissions must act completely in accord with this. Taking this into consideration, the Central Party Control Commission last fall held a week-long training course which was attended by all chairmen and deputy chairmen of control commissions. A critical appraisal of our work since the 10th SED Congress was at the center of the main report and all seminar lessons. An exchange of experience in the activities of commissions was made, and the positive experience was generalized. It was emphasized that members of party control commissions should always bear in mind the following exceptionally important circumstance: Leadership and control presuppose the ability to transmit the experience of political and organizational work, to skillfully analyze facts and events, to orient oneself to new phenomena in a given situation.

The aforementioned resolution on carrying out verification and reregistration says: "Whoever in our period of intense class struggle shuns exemplary and active work is not worthy of bearing the honorary title of communist. The party breaks with such people. In such instances it is necessary to make the necessary decisions without delay, regardless of the official positions or earlier merits of the communists concerned."

This demand is based on the fact that what is needed for the construction of socialist society are the creative work of all communists for the good of the people, their ideological-political activeness and

staunch and principled attitude in the struggle against the class enemy, and their loyalty to the workers' and peasants' power. This applies first and foremost to the party and state workers. All their actions must be fully in accord with the principles of democratic centralism, the Leninist norms of party life, the requirements of the party, state, and work discipline, and their personal responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them.

At all of its meetings with the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the commissions, the Central Party Control Commission promotes with absolute clarity the idea that we must be in the thick of events, strive to reveal what is new, and adopt a comprehensive approach toward accomplishing the tasks that have been set.

The 10th plenum of the SED Central Committee devoted great attention to questions of the GDR's economic development in the period up to 2,000. In this connection it was emphasized: "This development will find its concentrated expression in the unity of economic and social policies. The accomplishment of the party's main task has always been connected with the perfecting of social relations in all spheres and with the social development in the broadest sense of the word. What is involved are the questions of economic results, of satisfying the material and cultural needs of the working people, and by the socialist ideology determines more and more the thoughts and actions of the people."

As far as the activities of party control commissions are concerned, it is our duty--although we are not specialists in all spheres of economic and scientific-technological progress--to consider and appraise from party positions the behavior of the communist and the leader and his approach to introducing what is new, and not to lose sight of anything in this connection. For this reason the party control commissions in the field are guided toward seeking partners among the communists in other control organs whom we can and must enlist in our work whenever we lack sufficient forces ourselves. Of course, this provides for well thought-out cooperation, including cooperation with the workers of departments of the party apparatus and of the state and the law and order organs. In line with this cooperation they assist us in our work and, at the same time, we strive to use their knowledge and experience in certain fields. Thanks to this cooperation, our verifications are more effective and productive.

This requires that chairmen and deputy chairmen of all commissions precisely determine the tasks involved and skillfully lead the control organs all the way to the adoption of appropriate decisions. An increasing requirement for every member and candidate member of party control commissions is also that he must keep in step with life, act farsightedly, and help solve the tasks faced by the entire party. This also implies efficient leadership in all work, beginning with the preparation of every individual verification action.

We consider the growth of the party's leading role as being interconnected with the development of socialist democracy. The role of communists in all social organizations corresponds to this view.



In our opinion, the growth of the party's leading role and the increased national and international tasks demand consistent intensification of the ideological work and make it necessary for members of our commissions to thoroughly understand the essence of topical problems. This is the prerequisite for asserting the party's leading role all the way down to the primary organizations and to every SED member and candidate member.

It is with the assistance of party control commissions that the party wages its uncompromising struggle against indiscipline, the diversionist policy of imperialism, opportunism and revanchism, and nationalism and neofascism. We are alert to what is taking place in this respect in the FRG in order to prevent the hostile influence from there from penetrating our borders and spreading in our country. This is an important question of ideological-political vigilance in the struggle for the preservation of the party unity and purity.

The actions of representatives of the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Socialist Union and the FRG Government in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory are generally known. These representatives failed to draw the proper conclusions from the struggle of the anti-Hitlerite coalition but, on the contrary, have adopted falsification of history as their common cause. We recall the recent provocative meeting of the revanchist land associations and the "association of expellees," as well as the speech by Federal Chancellor Kohl at the meeting of so-called "Silesians" on 16 June this year. Rhetoric apart, his speech to the revanchists boiled down to a demand for the restoration of Germany's 1937 borders and for keeping the German question open.

The revanchists strive to liquidate the socialist GDR and other socialist states in Europe. Kohl has essentially adopted Dregger's blasphemous position that frankly reflects the reactionary views of revanchists and neofascists and brazen anticommunists and grossly distorts history itself. Dregger's position boils down to the following: "The date 8 May 1945 was the day of the greatest catastrophe because World War II ended with a European catastrophe, the biggest catastrophe in the history of our continent. This concerns the subjugation of the whole of eastern and central Europe under the communist dictatorship." This was the position held in the Adenauer period and now this is Kohl's policy, camouflaged by statements about the creation of a united Western Europe and about the so-called overcoming of the "division" of Europe, as a whole. And all this, they emphasize, under the alleged "conditions of complete freedom and free self-determination." But facts remains facts: the revanchists and neofascists in reality want a revision of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions because they have no intention of fulfilling the principal proposition emanating from these decisions of the former allies of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

We constantly bear in mind the fact that the West's ideological divisions are a constant and everyday occurrence and are carried out in particular by means of 35 radio stations and three television channels beamed to the GDR around the clock.

The enemy is multiplying his attempts to falsify history and intensify unbridled anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Constant attacks against the party's leading role continue, slanders of democratic centralism are increasing, and the attempts of gross interference in the internal affairs of the GDR and all socialist countries are intensifying. The ideological adversary strive in every way possible to discredit communism on a worldwide scale, and to blacken the experience of the construction of socialist society and of our fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, experience that has justified itself.

E. Honecker noted at the 10th plenum of the SED Central Committee: "It goes without saying that we consider the preparations for the 11th Party Congress and the goals that will be worked out by the congress not only in the light of their immediate significance for the GDR but also in their international context. The strengthening of friendship with the USSR and the strengthening of the socialist community and its unity and cohesion occupy the place of paramount importance in this connection. Our countries will have to solve tasks that are of great importance for the fate of mankind."

We will continue to work in this spirit. As far as the struggle for peace is concerned, the SED has again declared its readiness to struggle together with all peace-loving forces to eliminate the nuclear threat from earth and outer space and to work consistently for disarmament.

The GDR people highly value the USSR's new constructive and peaceable proposals made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the determination of all countries of the socialist community not to allow the United States and NATO to achieve military-strategic superiority. They support all efforts aimed at preventing a new round of the arms race and at returning to detente.

The class enemy has not renounced its illusory plans to liquidate socialism and its leading force, the Marxist-Leninist party. We must be watchful to ensure that he finds no ground among us for the realization of these plans and that he does not succeed in influencing in any way the ranks of our party. The activity of all party control commissions must resolutely bar the path to the enemy. It is therefore our important obligation to take care that he does not find any individuals among us who would be ready to be his accomplices. And such individuals can appear wherever the primary party organizations permit the individual party members to not fulfill their obligations and to shun social activities, and wherever control and verification of fulfillments are not treated as everyday tasks.

Proceeding from our experience, again and again we call attention to the fact that construction of the socialist society calls for heightened attention and every possible intensification of vigilance and, first and foremost, vigilance against the class enemy's attempts at ideological diversions as well as his diversions in the economic and military fields up to and including espionage. It is not only necessary to constantly unmask this activity but also to constantly remove anything that makes it possible.

Petit bourgeois habits and attitudes, megalomania, absence of criticism and self-criticism, nonclass behavior, and moral degradation play into the hands of the enemy.

The central, kreis, and bezirk party control commissions strive to ensure that facts of this kind are verified with extraordinary objectivity and accuracy on the basis of the strict observance of the Statute's provisions and party decisions and on the basis of personal responsibility. For this reason, in order to ensure a thorough understanding of any situation, it is necessary to enlist the most experienced and competent communists for this work.

In the course of implementing the resolution on verification and reregistration of party members and candidate members and in our preparations for the 11th SED Congress, we are careful to ensure that unstable individuals and those who are morally deficient will not be left in the party ranks because with their behavior they discredit the party in the eyes of the citizens.

The party Program and Statute demand that the Communist feel responsible for the planned utilization of the people's property for the benefit of all the people. Personal responsibility is also necessary for the protection of the people's property. There should be no tolerance of machinations, bribery, speculations, or personal gains. We most resolutely act against these harmful phenomena by using the necessary means and asserting party morality. This also applies to state discipline. What is involved in this connection, first and foremost, is unflinching observance of socialist legality, protection of the socialist GDR's national and international authority, every possible strengthening of the superiority of its social system over the system of the imperialist FRG, and complete fulfillment of the GDR's obligations toward its allies, including the personal responsibility of citizens for the defense of the socialist motherland and the borders and socialist achievements of the allies.

The principled struggle for the consolidation of order is connected with this. It is an integral part of obligation of all leading cadre as well as the bureau of primary organization. It is the duty of chairmen and deputy chairmen of party control commissions to educate their collectives in the spirit of irreconcilability toward all negative phenomena.

The SED is proud to note now that hundreds and hundreds of thousands of workers educated by the party are fulfilling their tasks in the party spirit and that this army of cadres, loyal and devoted to the party, is constantly growing. However, this gives us no right to rest on our laurels and it must not weaken our vigilance. All cases of abuse of official position, wastefulness, immodesty, money grabbing, dishonesty, eyewash, drunkenness, and other immoral actions will be invariably and resolutely condemned. This is the firm will of our party. There can be no room in its ranks for individuals who forget their obligations and abuse their party membership for mercenary purposes. There is no doubt that the 11th SED Congress will raise even further the level of ideological-political and moral requirements for all Communists in our country.

The SED Program includes the following statement that is sacred to us: "The SED is a detachment of the international communist movement. It firmly stands on the ground of proletarian internationalism. It is linked by fraternal ties with the CPSU, the most tested and experienced party and the first to lead the workers class in alliance with the working peasantry to power as a result of the October Socialist Revolution."

In conformity with these program principles, our party will never permit in the GDR any manifestation of anti-Sovietism or any undermining of our combat unity and our indestructible alliance with the CPSU.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### COOPERATION WITH POLAND IN ATOMIC ENERGY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent O. Losoto, Warsaw: "Construction Site Near the Lake"]

[Text] "I read that Poland is erecting its first nuclear power station. I would like to know what stage of construction the project is in. Could you also tell me something about Soviet-Polish interaction in the area of nuclear-energy engineering, as well as Poland's place in this cooperation?"

N. Krayevskaya, engineer,  
Ustinov

On the shores of Lake (Zarnowiec), which is in Gdansk Province, Poland's first nuclear power station is being built. The decision to construct it was made by the government of the Polish People's Republic in January 1982. That decision was influenced by the constant increase in the republic's needs for electric power supply and the difficulties involved in mining the traditional energy carriers, although Poland does have at its disposal rather large coal reserves.

The (Zarnowiec) AES [nuclear power station -- hereinunder NPS] will have four power units, each with a capacity of 465 megawatts. The startup of the first unit is planned for 1990, and the end of construction of the entire station, for 1994.

In slightly more than three years a large volume of excavation and technical-engineering operations has been completed on the area of 140 hectares where the structures in the future NPS will be situated. More than 4 million cubic meters of soil have been moved. The necessary pipelines have been laid under the ground, and the drainage operations have been completed.

A steel cylinder was ceremoniously cemented into the foundation. The cylinder contained a text stating that Poland's first nuclear power station would be erecting its buildings on that spot.

By the end of the year it is planned to begin the installation of the first structurals.

In Poland (Zarnowiec) is called a construction site of friendship, since one can see before his very eyes the fruitfulness of Soviet-Polish cooperation and the international socialist division of labor. Specialists from the two countries jointly developed the technical plan, as well as the plan for the organization of the construction operations. Wide use is made of the experience of building nuclear power stations in the USSR and the other CEMA member countries. The nuclear reactor -- the heart of the power unit -- was designed in the USSR, and it will be manufactured in Czechoslovakia. Shipments of circulation pumps from the Soviet Union have been planned. A considerable amount of the equipment will be manufactured by Polish enterprises: steam generators, volume compensators, turbines.

Since the second half of the 970's Poland has been cooperating actively with the CEMA member countries in the area of nuclear power engineering. Poland has assimilated the production of specialized equipment and delivers it for nuclear power stations that are being built in the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. That equipment is being manufactured on the basis of Soviet documentation and technological schemes that have been made available to Polish enterprises on a contract basis.

The "Polish products list" includes many things: the main technological equipment; complicated electronics that provide for monitoring inside the reactor; and technology that helps to carry out operations with nuclear fuel.

In the program for the development of Polish power engineering by the year 2000, it is planned to increase capacities by 8000 megawatts, and that will be achieved by the construction of nuclear electric-power stations.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### ROMANIA: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC PROGRESS PRAISED

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No. 15, Aug 85 pp 39-41

[Article by V. Andreyev: "Romania: Landmarks of the New Life"]

[Text] Time indeed does compress events. To a large extent, the world is still living under the aegis of the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitlerite Fascism. But the peoples of a number of countries are greeting the regular anniversaries of their liberation from the "Brown Plague" as the beginning of their own national rebirth. For the 41st time this holiday has come to the land of Romania. It marks 23 August as the day of the country's liberation from the Fascist yoke.

The period of military-fascist dictatorship, which lasted two weeks short of four years, is called in Romania the most gloomy page of its national history. Mass terror against the democratic forces, ruthless exploitation of the workers and peasants by "their own" capitalists and landowners as well as by foreign monopolies under the cover of social and chauvinistic demagoguery, the betrayal of the national interests, and the utter subordination to Hitler's Germany--such was the essence of the Antonescu regime, which led the country to the brink of catastrophe. And its gravest crime against its own people was the participation in the aggression by the "Third Reich" against the USSR for the purpose of annihilating our state and seizing its extensive lands.

Great was the damage inflicted on the Soviet Union. As a result of Romania's military actions and its lengthy occupation of Soviet territory, hundreds of thousands of our people perished, and the material losses were enormous. The Anti-Soviet War also cost Romania very dearly: its army lost about 660,000 men, including 410,000 killed, while the material damage exceeded the country's annual budget 12-fold. Despite this, we still do encounter attempts by the "adherents of historical truth" among anti-Soviet persons to somehow whitewash the fascist rulers of bourgeois-landowner Romania, to present them almost as patriots, who, so to speak, were compelled by objective circumstances to be in the Hitlerite bloc and who, they say, were likewise compelled to take part in the campaign against the USSR. History and the Romanian people have long ago passed their own judgement on this score, having sentenced the chiefs of the military-fascist clique, headed up by Antonescu, to capital punishment as war criminals.

The liberation of Romania from fascism began at the end of March 1944, when troops of the Second Ukrainian Front reached the State Border of the USSR and

their entry into the northeastern regions of Romanian territory. This was the beginning of the liberation of Europe. The move by the Soviet Army of its military activities onto Romania's territory exacerbated the socio-economic and political crisis in the country, revolutionized its popular masses, among whom there was a strengthening of confidence that they would soon be saved from the hateful, pro-Hitler regime, and facilitated the growth of the anti-fascist movement, which was headed up by the Communist Party.

The decisive events which led to the final collapse of the Antonescu government and Romania's abandoning the Anti-Soviet War developed under the direct influence of the Iasi-Kishinev Operation, which began to be carried out on 20 August 1944 and which, because of its scope and masterful handling, is known as the "Cannae of World War II." During its course the 900,000-man-strong group of German and Romanian troops comprising the principal bulwark of the military-fascist dictatorship was crushed within a matter of just a few days. This allowed the Romanian patriots on 23 August 1944 to carry out victoriously under the leadership of the Communists an anti-fascist, armed uprising, which marked a radical turning-point in the destiny of the Romanian people.

Many hundreds of thousands of Soviet people took part in the battles for Romania's freedom. From the first to the very last day of their liberating mission they passed over this path not in a ceremonial march but rather overcoming fierce resistance by the enemy. Some 286,000 Soviet troops shed their blood onto the land of Romania, and 69,000 of them have remained buried in it forever. In Romania they pay their due respects to this sacrifice and to the decisive role played by the Soviet people in achieving the victory over fascism. "Our entire nation," it was emphasized in the greeting sent by its leaders to the CPSU Central Committee to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of this world-historical event, "honors and highly values the contribution made by the Soviet Union, which took the weight of the war on its own shoulders, bore the greatest sacrifices, and played the decisive role in crushing the Hitlerite military machine, in the struggle of the Anti-Hitlerite coalition for the purpose of smashing fascism, along with the most reactionary forces of imperialism and war."

Having allied itself with the states of the Anti-Hitlerite coalition, Romania made a substantial military and economic contribution to the final defeat of Nazi Germany. Operating as a component of the Second Ukrainian Front, its army fought to clear the country's territory of the German-Fascist and Horthyite occupation forces; it accomplished this on 25 October 1944 and then fought to liberate Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Romania's human losses in the Anti-Hitlerite War amounted to more than 167,000 persons, including 20,000 killed. Cemented by the blood which was shed in fighting against the common enemy, Soviet-Romanian brotherhood-in-arms has been marked by awarding to many tens of thousands of soldiers of both countries Romanian and, respectively, Soviet orders and medals.

The historical act of 23 August 1944 opened the way for profound revolutionary-democratic changes in Romania. In the first stage the chief tasks were the conquest of political power by the people, the restoration of the war-ravaged national economy and the elimination of the landowning class. The question of



"who will beat whom" was resolved in a sharp class struggle, which took place, however, in peaceful forms. To a decisive degree, this was predetermined by the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the country and by the overall support by the Soviet Union of its democratic forces, which did not allow the imperialists to intervene on the side of the reaction in the processes which were taking place in Romania.

On 6 March 1945 the first democratic government was created in Romania, headed up by P. Groza; the leading role therein was played by the Communists. It proceeded to carry out the socio-economic reforms which ensured the transition of the basic economic levers into the hands of the people's regime. The radical shift in the balance of power within the country allowed the abolition of the monarchy on 30 December 1947 and the proclamation of Romania as a people's democracy. With the conquest of political power by the working class in alliance with the peasantry, the tasks of the socialist revolution began to be implemented. Its decisive moments were the nationalization of the basic means of production in June 1948 with the subsequent socialist industrialization and the completion in the spring of 1962 of the collectivization of agriculture. The consolidation of socialist production relations on the scale of the entire national economy under the conditions of the emergence and development of the world socialist system, which excluded the possibility of restoring capitalism and signified the full and complete victory of socialism in the land of Romania. This was stated at the 9th RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress in 1965. And it was then that the country's Basic Law, adopted in April 1948, was replaced by the Constitution, which proclaimed Romania to be a Socialist Republic. Consolidation of the foundations of socialism led the SRR [Socialist Republic of Romania] to the milestones which allowed the 11th party congress in November 1974 to adopt the "Program of the RCP on Building a Universally Developed Socialist Society and Moving Romania Forward toward Communism."

The country's achievements during the years of the people's regime were summed up at the 13th RCP Congress, which was held in November of last year. They are undoubtedly significant. During an historically brief period Romania, which prior to its liberation was economically one of Europe's most backward countries, has been transformed into a dynamically developing industrial-agrarian state with an advanced social system. The SRR today is an equal member of the socialist community, actively participating in international life. By means of the self-sacrificing labor of its people, relying on the Soviet Union's support and cooperation with the other socialist states, a large-scale production and scientific-technical potential has been created in this republic. In comparison with 1950, its industrial output has increased more than 100-fold, while agricultural output has increased 7-fold, public production grew 28-fold, and the national income increased 32-fold. The following fact likewise says a great deal: the country's industry now produces in just six days as much output as it produced during the entire record year of 1938 under the bourgeois-landowning system.

There has been a radical change in the social structure of Romanian society. The number of the previously small working class now consists of 6 million persons--almost 60 percent of the active population and 80 percent of all employees. More than 63 percent of the national income is already created in industry.

At the present time the SRR belongs among the economically average, medium-developed states. Last year the per capita national income amounted to 31,600 lei\*. With regard to the per capita output of many types of products, such as, for example, steel, cement, tractors, trucks, railroad freight cars, chemical fertilizers, synthetic yarns, fiber, and rubber, refrigerators, television sets, radios, fabrics, footwear, and producer goods, they have approached the levels of the developed countries and, in some cases, even surpassed them.

The SRR exports more than 50 percent of the oil-well drilling rigs being produced, 40 percent of the diesel locomotives and mainline electric locomotives, 23 percent of the metal-working machine tools, 81 percent of the tractors, 41 percent of the passenger automobiles, 18 percent of the footwear, etc.

Increased attention is being accorded to upgrading the republic's agriculture, the development of which previously lagged behind the growth of the industrial potential in an obvious way, and this created certain national-economic disproportions and problems. Capital investments in the development of agricultural production have noticeably increased. A widespread irrigation program is being carried out. Last year a record grain crop was obtained--more than one ton per capita.

The increased prosperity of the Romanian people is illustrated, in particular, by such figures as the following: During the years when socialism was being built the consumption fund increased 22-fold. This year the real wages of working people are 8 percent more than they were at the beginning of the current five-year plan. Of the public consumption funds each family, on an average, accounts for approximately 13,000 lei, or more than 4,400 lei per person annually, which comprises one-fifth of all the population's income.

About 80 percent of the population lives in new houses.

With regard to certain characteristics in the approach to solving the corresponding practical problems as applied to the specific conditions of the SRR, the basic lines of the RCP's activity coincide, for the most part, with the policies of the other fraternal parties in building a developed socialism. And the objective difficulties which arise in this connection are similar to a large extent. There are, of course, also outlays engendered by subjective causes. In the speeches by Comrade N. Ceausescu he often points to the "lack of the necessary responsibility on the part of the managers of enterprises under the jurisdiction of the ministries" and an "erroneous style of their work."

Soviet-Romanian relations have steadily developed on the firm foundation of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid, dating from 7 July 1970, which replaced the first such Treaty, signed on 4 February 1948. The USSR has unchangingly remained Romania's main trade and economic partner. In 1984 the USSR accounted for more than 22 percent of Romania's foreign-trade turnover. Soviet deliveries of raw material, fuel, and other materials are particularly important for the SRR. In 1984-1985 these deliveries, including those of petroleum, were significantly increased. In turn, our country obtains Romanian goods in the increasing quantities necessary for its national economy.

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\* 100 lei are equal to 12.05 rubles.

A notable role in Soviet-Romanian economic cooperation has been and is being played by technical assistance from the Soviet Union in further developing the principal branches of industry. More than 140 facilities have already been built or modernized. And the SRR has taken part in expanding the capacities of our industry with regard to the production of iron-containing raw material, iron alloys, asbestos, cellulose, and construction of the Soyuz Gas Pipeline. Payment for these operations is made by deliveries of the appropriate types of products. The practice of such integrationist measures is becoming more and more widespread.

The USSR and the SRR are likewise linked by reciprocal cooperation within the framework of the collective organizations of the fraternal countries, above all, by the CEMA and Warsaw Pact. It is becoming increasingly important, as is testified to, in particular, by the decisions of the Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries at the highest level, directed at deepening socialist economic integration, the joint putting forth by the participant-states in the Warsaw Pact of numerous peace initiatives in the interests of restoring health to the international situation and extending the operative deadline of this Pact.

Soviet-Romanian relations have fine future prospects. They have been specified by the agreements reached during the course of the meetings held between the leaders of the two parties and countries in the years 1984-1985. Their practical implementation is called upon to upgrade cooperation between the USSR and the SRR to a higher level.

In congratulating our Romanian friends on the occasion of their national holiday, the Soviet people express confidence that relations between our countries will be constantly stronger and more developed.

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### U.S. 'CRIMES' IN INDOCHINA VIEWED

PM311057 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 85 First Edition p 4

[PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "The Crimes Are Not Forgotten"]

[Text] Speaking at the jubilee session of the UN General Assembly, U.S. President R. Reagan lamented the fact that in the organization's 40 years of existence many dreams have been shattered, many promises broken, and many lives lost. "The painful truth is," he said, "that the use of violence to take, to exercise, and to preserve power remains a reality in much of the world."

True enough. And these words boomerang, above all, on the imperialist policy of the U.S. ruling circles. They awaken particular associations in the people's memory. Even if the White House incumbent had not recalled how the blue UN flag was cynically used as cover for the intervention in Korea and had not mentioned the American invasion of Grenada as an object of special pride. [As received]

A monument was erected in Washington recently: The names of the 58,000 Americans who died in Indochina are carved in dark granite. If the Vietnamese who fell victim to the piratical U.S. intervention were listed alongside, the memorial wall would extend not for 150 paces, but for several kilometers.

Unveiling the monument, the President called it a symbol of the "healing" of America. Healing from what? If it is from "Vietnam syndrome," this task has long since been resolved by practical means during the years of his presidency. Apart from the aforementioned Grenada, which was trampled by soldiers' boots, evidence of this is also provided by the "undeclared wars" against Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia, and the barbarous shelling of Lebanon--incidentally, from the very same guns on the battleship "New Jersey" which hit Vietnam.

At the UN jubilee session the White House incumbent claimed that his country "does not seek to establish domination over others." "The only land abroad we occupy," he said, "is beneath the graves where our heroes rest." Is it apposite to ask: Does it really take 534,000 servicemen deployed outside the United States at 1,500 American military bases in 32 states to protect

soldiers' graves? After all, this army is scattered across the whole world not in order to display the Stars and Stripes, but for imperialist adventures. And the most flagrant example of this tyranny of force was the American intervention in Southeast Asia.

"It was not Vietnam which attacked the United States, it was not Vietnam which sent its troops onto American soil. It was the United States which subjected our country to devastating raids, sent an army more than half a million strong to South Vietnam, and brought the ships of the 7th Fleet to Indochina," [SRV] Prime Minister Phan Van Dong said.

This bloody adventure began with the connivance of the French colonialists. Their "dirty war" against the Vietnamese people was almost entirely financed by Washington in its final stages. In 1953-54 alone, \$18 billion was appropriated for these purposes. The Pentagon supplied the French expeditionary corps with 1,400 tanks, 340 aircraft, and 150 million shells.

In March 1954 the main French forces found themselves in a hopeless position, encircled in Dien Bien Phu. And when the patriots began the storming of the colonialists' last stronghold, the U.S. National Security Council elaborated the plan for operation "Carrion Crow"—an American strike against Vietnam in the event of a French surrender. It was proposed to drop six atom bombs on Dien Bien Phu valley from carrier-based planes. In the subsequent period American military leaders more than once raised the question of the use of nuclear weapons in Indochina. The notorious General Westmoreland lamented loudly that Washington's indecisiveness in this respect was preventing them from bringing the war "to a victorious end."

The United States came into the war on the basis of the most shameless deception of the American public and Congress. Flouting the Geneva agreements on Indochina, Washington thwarted the unification of Vietnam which was planned for 1956. It set about feverishly arming Saigon's punitive forces in the south (as is now being done in El Salvador) and sending subversive gangs into the north (operating by the same methods as in the current "undeclared war" against Nicaragua). But it did not succeed either in strengthening the pro-American regime in Saigon, or in destabilizing the revolutionary power in Hanoi. Then, in secret from the American people, the course was set of open military interference in the two parts of the country; a course of full-scale war not only against Vietnam, but also against Cambodia and Laos. Pentagon documents provide irrefutable evidence of this: "Operations Plan 34-63," approved in the fall of 1963, and also a list of 94 targets for bombings on DRV territory drawn up in the spring of 1964. Only a pretext for aggression was needed. And that was found, or rather, fabricated.

In August 1964 the U.S. 7th Fleet destroyers "Maddox" and "Turner Joy" invaded the DRV's territorial waters in Tonkin Gulf, for provocative purposes. President Johnson represented the warning shots fired by North Vietnamese launches as an "attack" and gave the order to "retaliate." And 64 American aircraft from the aircraft carriers "Ticonderoga" and "Constellation" made bombing raids on the DRV.

But nothing could break the patriots' spirit. The land was too hot for the aggressors. U.S. losses in Vietnam totaled 58,000 killed and 304,000 wounded. More than 4,000 American aircraft were shot down over the DRV alone. At the end of 1972, when U.S. aircraft carried out massive raids on Hanoi, the young Vietnamese pilot Pham Tuan, who later became Vietnam's first cosmonaut, shot down a B-52 strategic bomber in his MiG. This feat was symbolic of the heroism of the Vietnamese patriots, who relied on the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The just struggle of the peoples of Indochina called forth a mighty wave of international solidarity. It swept through the United States too. America's awakened conscience declared itself in antiwar demonstrations on an unprecedented scale. Young people burned their draft papers. Four students at Kent State University, Ohio, were killed by national guards who opened fire on demonstrators.

The growing public indignation abroad and at home made the aggressors agree to hold talks, and in 1973 to sign the Paris accords. The United States had to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. Washington continued to give assistance to the Saigon regime, urging it to continue the war. But the puppet regime collapsed under mighty blows from the patriots. In spring 1975 the Vietnamese people completed the struggle for their motherland's freedom, independence, and unity.

Imperialism's biggest attempt since World War II to deal with a socialist state and suppress a national liberation revolution by force of arms ended in failure. The Vietnamese people's heroism and selflessness, backed up by the socialist countries' support, proved stronger than the armies of the interventionists and their accomplices.

The bloody adventure in Indochina ended in a military and political defeat for American imperialism. But it clearly did not learn the proper lessons from this failure. The U.S. ruling circles are seeking to turn the Asian and Pacific region into another arena of military-political confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist states and with the forces of national liberation. To suit its global strategy, Washington is deliberately setting different states or groups of states there against each other, fanning old conflicts and provoking new ones. In Southeast Asia the United States maintains tension by fanning passions over the notorious "Cambodia problem."

Apart from the burdens of the American intervention, the long-suffering Cambodia, as is well known, had to suffer genocide by the Pol Pot clique which was guilty of the extermination of 3 million people. In January 1979 the people rose up and, with the support of Vietnamese volunteers, overthrew the butcher gang and embarked on a new life. In order to sow discord between the Indochinese countries and their neighbors belonging to ASEAN, the U.S. ruling circles try to make out that the prime cause of the tension in the region is the presence of Vietnamese troops on Cambodian territory (they are there by agreement between sovereign states in accordance with the UN Charter).

That is how the direct American intervention started. It was not confined to air bombings and shelling from ships. In the spring 1965 the American Marines landed in Dan Nang. The United States sank rapidly into the quagmire of a very bloody war. The number of American troops in Vietnam reached 550,000 in 1968. During the years of intervention some 3 million Americans passed through the Indochinese "mincing machine."

The military-industrial complex of the biggest imperialist power supplied the interventionists lavishly with innovations in combat hardware. One-half of the U.S. strategic aviation and one-third of its tactical aviation were brought into play against the people, who would not be brought to their knees. The aggressors dropped more than 7 million tons of bombs on Vietnamese soil, set fire to hundreds of settlements with napalm, and scattered 48 million liters of the toxic substance "agent orange" on the fields and forests, as a result of which tens of thousands of Vietnamese and thousands of Americans are suffering from poisoning to this day. Even according to CIA figures, some 80 percent of the losses from the operations of the U.S. armed forces were sustained by the civilian population.

Other Indochinese peoples also suffered as a result of the American military's bloody crimes. Both Cambodia and Laos suffered devastating bombings by U.S. planes, and were then subjected to a direct invasion by American-Saigon troops. As with the "Tonkin incident," the expansion of aggression was again masked by deception. For instance, B-52 bombers, when already in flight, had their official orders amended and were instructed to drop the lethal cargo not on Vietnamese territory, but on Cambodian territory.

The criminal war acquired its ignominious symbol in history forever. That symbol is the fate of Song My village. On 16 March 1968 Lieutenant William Colley's platoon burst into the village after landing from helicopters. The soldiers savagely massacred the entire population of Song My. In all 567 unarmed people, mainly old men, women, and children, died. Colley himself shot 109 of them.

This monstrous crime became known to the public. The indignant Americans demanded that the culprits be severely punished. But of the 25 people against whom proceedings were taken, 19 were discharged before the trial and 5 more in the course of it. Only Lt Colley was sentenced. But instead of life imprisonment, he got away with a mere 3 years of house arrest, after which he was freed. If the tragedy of Song My is the symbol of the American intervention in Indochina, the rehabilitation of its butchers is the embodiment of official Washington's attitude to the adventure.

The Song My massacre was by no means an isolated episode. Mass terror was an integral part of the policy of the occupation forces and their Saigon accomplices. Within the framework of operation Phoenix alone, many thousands of civilians suspected of links with guerrillas were slaughtered. More than 1.5 million Vietnamese were killed in the American intervention.



In reality, peace and stability in Southeast Asia are damaged by the attempts of external forces to hamper the irreversible process of national rebirth of Cambodia and bring Pol Pot's bloody regime back into power, even if under a different label. That is why the Cambodian-Thai border has become a seat of conflict.

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos rightly believe that they have no objective reasons for confrontation with their ASEAN neighbors; that the alienation between them arises from the intrigues of external forces which are exacerbating the situation in the region for their own selfish ends. Phnom Penh and Hanoi have stated repeatedly that there will be no need for the presence of Vietnamese volunteers when the Pol Pot supporters and other Khmer reactionaries stop receiving weapons from outside and conducting subversive activity against Cambodia. As was announced this summer, the consolidation of revolutionary gains in the PRK makes it possible to complete the withdrawal, by stages, of the Vietnamese volunteers earlier than planned--in 1990.

U.S. imperialist circles are by no means concerned about the good of the Cambodian people, onto whose heads they dropped a hail of bombs and shells. Washington's aim is to regain its lost positions in Southeast Asia; to restore its military presence there, imposing on Thailand the role of "front-line state." By intimidating the ASEAN members with the imaginary "Vietnamese threat" and pushing them toward confrontation with the Indochinese countries, Washington seeks to regenerate the association as a military-political grouping and a link in the anti-Soviet "eastern front."

Mankind has not forgotten the bloody U.S. intervention in Indochina. Even if the butchers of Song My walk free, the American military's crimes cannot and will not be forgotten or forgiven.

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### USSR-JAPAN: JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH YAKUTIA COAL BASIN

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by S. Agafonov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent, Neryungri-Vostochnyy-Moscow, under rubric "Economic Reports": "The Neryungri Plan"]

[Text] The task of the economic assimilation of the unbounded vistas of East Siberia and the Far East is not a new one. Nor is the task a simple one. It will take many decades to resolve it. But even now the economists are including in the long-term plans and computations such a parameter as the export specialization of the region.

The assimilation of new areas, and foreign trade... However unexpected this combination seems at first glance, in East Siberia and the Far East one does not contradict the other. Rather, the situation is just the reverse: both areas of economic activity constitute, as it were, a unity, with each supplementing the other.

But let us immediately place the dot over the "i." All the plans linked with the economic development of new regions are based primarily on our domestic needs and capabilities. However, we by no means reject business cooperation with foreign partners who show a self-interestedness in the opportunities opening up in this area for mutually advantageous contacts. And this self-interestedness, all things considered, is extremely high and it has been dictated by the stupendous scope of construction, by the prospects for business ties, and by the reliability and stability of the Soviet Union as a partner in economic-trade interrelationships.

The ceremonious event in Neryungri which IZVESTIYA has already briefly reported on (issue No. 233) confirms this in the most convincing manner. If we may remind our readers briefly: recently a ceremonious event occurred -- the shipment to Japan of the first million tons of high-grade Neryugri coal, which, according to the terms of a general agreement that had been signed 11 years ago, is intended for Japanese metallurgical companies. Shipments of this coal, which have been planned for two decades, as well as the Soviet-Japanese cooperation in the development of the Neryungri coal pit, will extend into the twenty-first century. That is a symbolic fact.

However, it would seem that what is symbolic is not so much that fact itself, as, in and of itself, the Neryungri project, which has become an important landmark in the development of economic-trade relations between the USSR and Japan.

Everything began on an autumn day in 1968 -- specifically which day, no one remembers exactly -- when Mister Ishii, who represented the interests of a number of Japanese companies, came to the Soyuzpromeksport All-Union Foreign-Trade Association on Smolenskaya-Sennaya [ulitsa]. He arrived with an impressive dossier that had been prepared from clippings from newspapers and magazines. The clippings pertained to a unique deposit of coking coal that had been discovered by geologists in South Yakutia. Mister Ishii had come with a proposal to cooperate in its assimilation and development.

The painstaking computations, negotiations, and the working out of the agreement took six years. Within the confines of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committees for economic cooperation, a special coal subcommittee was formed. It carefully considered all the details of the future project -- the climatic conditions of the deposit, problems of transporting the raw materials, the technological parameters of the machinery and equipment, the size of deliveries and their schedule. And yet, at that time, Neryungri was not even on the map!

One of the members of the Japanese delegation that visited Neryungri on the occasion of the shipment of the first million showed me photographs that had been taken in South Yakutia in 1970. Untouched taiga, stretching out into the mountains on the horizon, low clouds covering the tops of the pine trees. No roads, no buildings -- a forest primeval! Snow for eight months of the year and winter temperatures of -50 degrees Celsius were common occurrences. Permafrost going 170 meters down into the earth. At the negotiations there was a discussion about the technology and machinery for working the deposit, but neither we nor the Japanese yet had either the machinery or technology for working under those conditions.

Nevertheless the project was approved. And the deadlines for carrying it were defined. And the volumes of shipments were mentioned.

"The agreement for developing the Neryungri deposit in South Yakutia is described by specialists as a compensatory transaction," General Director of the Soyuzpromeksport Association Ye. F. Manakhov says. In other words, the payment for the credit granted by the partners is made at the expense of the shipments of coal that is mined at that deposit.

It might be fitting to say a few words about the credit part of the project. The Japanese side has granted to the Soviet side, all told, \$450 million for purchases of machinery and equipment for building the pit itself, the concentration plant, and the railroad sidings.

That is considerable amount of money, but in the overall volume of expenditures for the assimilation and operation of the deposit, it is not much. In order to be able to compare that figure with something, I might note that the balance-sheet cost of the motor-vehicle pool alone at Neryungri exceeds half a billion rubles. After paying off the credit (and this, taking into consideration the Neryugri rates, is a question of only a few years), the future shipments will be made on a commercial basis, with payment for them being made in hard currency.

The shipments of technology and equipment from Japan were completed late last year. Today one can see operating at the coal pit Japanese excavators and dump trucks, bulldozers and cranes, and other technology. It is remarkable that most of the machines are the first items produced in their series, and they owe their birth precisely to South Yakutia coal. Neryungri has become a test ground at which tests are conducted on a new generation of technology that has been adapted to the conditions of permafrost. And so today, looking, for example, at a 120-ton Komatsu dump truck, it will not be out of the way to recall that its creators had to modify the vehicle seven times before it received the rating of "suitable" for operating in South Yakutia. Many other types of machinery had the same fate.

Fifty-seven Japanese companies joined in the participation in the development of the coal pit. In addition to the general agreement, a large number of other contracts are in effect: contracts with the companies producing the equipment, with trade firms, and with the corporations consuming the coal. In essence, the South Yakutia project, from the point of view of foreign trade, is a complex of varied, multibranch contacts with foreign partners. And each of these links in that chain contains such an important factor as their long-term nature.

"The secret here is not only in the fact that the shipments of raw materials have been planned for 20 years," chief of the Zarubezhugol Association of USSR Minugleprom [Ministry of the Coal Industry] N. M. Sakharov explains, "but also in the technological peculiarities of working the deposit by the open-pit method. With every passing year the extraction of one and the same volume of output will require more powerful and more technology, and improved equipment. Thus, the expansion of the cooperation is organically linked with the process of assimilating Neryungri."

According to the terms of the general agreement, the Japanese customers will receive tens of millions of tons of Neryungri coal. Thus, the "export specialization of the region" is for Neryungri a concept that is by no means an abstract one. And even though this city is only ten years old, for foreign trade the Neryungri pit is an item of no small importance.

Although the deposit is, without a doubt, the chief character in the Neryungri project, it would not be correct to reduce the entire matter simply to coal problems, because the mining of coal is only a part of the program. It is also necessary to deliver it to the customers within the shortest periods of time possible, on the basis of a strict schedule. Thus the transportation question is one of the key ones in the implementation of the agreement. And so it is not accidental that in the project that question has been isolated by two items: first, the laying the 220-kilometer BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]-Tynda-Berkalit railroad mainline and railroad sidings to the pit and the concentration plant, and, secondly, the construction of a coal complex at the port of Vostochnyy.

"Small BAM"--Transsib [Trans-Siberian Railroad]--Bukhta Vrangelya--Japan. That is the itinerary that the Neryungri coal being exported is following. Four days by land. Two days by sea. That is going like clockwork. But how

much time does it take to process the cargo at the port? This is no idle question, inasmuch as the handling capacity of the port structures is one of the sore spots in any project that is linked with sea shipments.

In order to answer that question it is necessary, as a beginning, to say a few words about Vostochnyy itself. The youngest port in our country, which appeared on the map of Maritime Kray only in the early 1970's, it owes its birth to the development of the productive forces of Siberia and the Far East and to the increase in the domestic and foreign-trade shipments that Vladivostok and Nakhodka were no longer able to cope with.

After being built in record-breaking time (the first wharf was handed over three years after the beginning of construction), Vostochnyy today has become an important gateway for our country's many export cargoes. With regard to the volume of shipments this year, it has equaled Nakhodka. With regard to the level of automation of operations and the degree of equipment with technology, it has become the leader in the branch. Suffice it to state that, with equal volumes of processing of cargoes, the number of people employed here is one-sixth the number employed at Nakhodka. We might note that at the present time only the first phase is operating at Vostochnyy. But the port at the present time, as people generally say, is on the rise, and its expansion, the building of the second phase, is a vitally important task that is dictated by life itself.

"Modern equipment," V. A. Boldychev, first deputy port chief, feels, "is our main trump card. Thanks to it, Vostochnyy is able to work in the mode of a plant conveyor line. The coal complex is our pride. It is one of the best in the world. The unloading cycle is 140 tons (two railroad cars) every three minutes. The loading speed is one ton of coal a second. And this entire complex is serviced by 12 persons. The complex was built with the active cooperation of a number of Japanese firms, including Mitsui, Hitachi, and Sumitomo. If one speaks about the big account, they are all subcontractors of the same South Yakutia project."

In completing our discussion about the transportation situation, we cannot fail to mention the following important detail: a considerable share of the sea shipments from Vostochnyy to Japan is being carried out by Japanese ships. That means that the South Yakutia coal is simultaneously a guarantee of production orders for the maritime companies in Japan, and work for a thousand seamen and dock workers in the Land of the Rising Sun.

The qualification "mutually advantageous" has already become a mandatory one for the concept "cooperation." What, then, is on the assets side of the partnership that has been established at Neryungri?

First let's talk about the bosses. Within the shortest periods of time one of our country's first territorial-industrial complexes arose on bare ground. Judged on the basis of its size and the degree of its technical equipment, it has no equals worldwide. Taking into consideration the prospects for the assimilation of Yakutia and the conquest of the permafrost, the Neryungri experiment is difficult to overestimate. The reserves at the coal pit are more than 400 million tons. The coal storerooms of South Yakutia are

estimated by specialists as having 40 billion tons, and those in all of Yakutia, several trillion tons. That is truly inexhaustible wealth! The Neryungri project is a bridge to tomorrow, the launch pad for an advance on the North.

In this regard a beneficial role was played, especially in the first stages of construction, by the shipments of Japanese machinery and equipment. In addition to the practical use at the pit, they also served as a kind of impetus for the accelerated development of our own technology. Because it is no secret that about ten years ago the productivity of a number of kinds of imported machinery surpassed that of domestically produced ones. The excavators with a 20 cubic meter shovel which are currently being produced by Uralmash, and the 180-ton BelAZ [trucks] existed at that time only on blueprints.

And now a few words about the benefits for our Japanese partners. There are many components here, but the most important factors are such things as the reliability in guaranteeing coal shipments for a very long-term period; the proximity of the shipments; and the filling of orders for a large number of Japanese enterprises and firms in various branches.

The Neryungri project has contributed, to no small degree, to the reinforcement of the contacts between business circles in Japan and Soviet customers. For example, a number of Japanese firms, on the basis of the South Yakutia experiment, are conducting negotiations with USSR Ministry of Transport Machine Building concerning cooperative efforts in the production of heavy bulldozers and the development of other types of technology for working in Siberia and the Far East. Approximately 70 percent of the total export output of the Komatsu company today is sold on the Soviet market. The consumers of Neryungri coal -- the very large Japanese metallurgical corporations of Nippon Steel, Nippon Kokan, Kobe Steel, and Kawasaki Steel -- are also oriented in their export on Soviet production orders, delivering to the USSR steel, rolled metal, large-diameter pipes, and metal structurals. If one considers that Japanese metallurgy at the present time is operating at only two-thirds of capacity, one can fully estimate the prospects that the steadily growing and vast Soviet market is opening up for our partners in Japan.

And there is one more circumstance that must be mentioned. The long-term fruitful cooperation between Soviet and Japanese specialists in South Yakutia is going beyond the framework of purely economic relations. It is not accidental that during the visit by a delegation of Japanese businessmen to Neryungri there was a discussion, albeit on an unofficial basis, of the establishment of fraternal ties between the coal giant of South Yakutia and the Japanese city of Muroran, in which city the metallurgical combine of the Nippon Steel Corporation is one of the chief recipients of Neryungri concentrate.

The spirit of mutual understanding and trust, the atmosphere of good wishes, and genuine self-interestedness in the common cause -- those achievements of Neryungri are no less important than the tons of coal that have been mined or the stupendous contracts.

"A new page in the development of Soviet-Japanese economic relations, an important contribution to the reinforcement of friendly ties between the USSR and Japan," and "the symbol of good-neighborliness and good favor toward one another by the peoples of our two countries" -- those are the evaluations of the importance of the South Yakutia project that were made by K. Tanaka, director of the Nippon Steel Corporation, and T. Nishioka, director of the Minami Yakutotan Company. It is difficult to add anything to these evaluations.

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CSO: 1825/114

## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### SHIPPING COOPERATION WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

Moscow VODNYI TRANSPORT in Russian 27 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by M. Tsyganov, TASS Correspondent, under the rubric "International Shipping": "'Philsov' is Good Business"]

[Text] There is probably no other region in the world where shipping is as important as the islands of Southeast Asia. Situated here are Indonesia--"the land of 3000 islands," the Philippines--"the land of 7000 islands," and the city-nation Singapore which is located on a small island dividing Malaysia into insular and peninsular parts...

Therefore it will hardly be surprising that member nations of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which in addition to Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines also includes Thailand and Brunei) devote a great deal of attention to marine and river transport.

The elimination of backwardness in shipping, which ASEAN countries inherited from the colonizers, is not an easy task. As Indonesian Industry Minister Hartarto has announced, even though the overall tonnage of the Indonesian trade fleet is 4.7 million register tons (which in itself is not many for a nation-archipelago with a population of 165 million), this figure includes not only vessels of transoceanic and interisland lines but sailboats as well. What is more, a considerable percentage of the ships are more than 25 years old: only in the course of the current, fourth five-year plan for development does the Indonesian government plan to scrap a considerable percentage of the old vessels.

These difficulties lead to the merciless exploitation of Southeast Asian countries by the shipping corporations of developed capitalist countries by permitting the latter to dictate their will to their economically weak partners. As noted at a recent meeting of ASEAN's Council on Commercial Shipping, American shipowners establish freight rates and other freight shipping terms that are beneficial to them but that often directly contradict the economic interests of developing countries in Southeast Asia. Participants in the meeting noted that the USA's willful appropriation of the right to monopolize control over the shipping market in the region is an open

manifestation of the policy of imperialist dictatorship by Washington vis-a-vis the developing countries.

Local seamen are also subjected to merciless exploitation by foreign companies. Speaking at a regional meeting of the Asian Committee on Maritime Freight held in the Indonesian city of Surakarta in the spring of this year, Dzh. F. Khabibi, general director of a maritime shipping organization, likened their situation to that of slaves. As the Indonesian newspaper SUARA KARYA reported, approximately half of the 10,000 Indonesian sailors arriving in foreign port cities in search of jobs do not have their seaman's papers and fall easy prey to Western wheeler-dealers.

Such cruel exploitation is the cause of extreme indignation in ASEAN countries. However, force can only be countered by force and therefore the governments of the region's nations see the solution to lie solely only in the development of a powerful national trade fleet and national shipbuilding industry. Thus, the launching of the largest vessel built in our country--the 3500-ton tanker Pelita--last spring can be considered a substantial success of the Indonesian shipbuilding industry. This was the thirty-third tanker built at the Pelita Bakhari national shipyard. As Minister Hartarto noted at the launching ceremony, the main task confronting the Indonesian national trade fleet is to handle Indonesian shipping on internal and international sea lanes.

However, the imperialist predators are doing their utmost to hinder the struggle of the developing countries for economic independence. Gigantic foreign (especially, U.S. and Japanese) corporations are inflicting enormous damage on the development of their national industry. As Nugrokho Sutovo, president-director of the PT Adiguna Shipyard (an Indonesian shipbuilding company) declared, foreign companies operating from the position of force are deliberately stifling the nation's shipbuilding industry. Transnational octopuses are using all means, fair and foul, from the arsenal of competitive struggle such as dumping, tariff barriers, and artificially generated difficulties in importing spare parts. It must be said that Indonesia is still compelled to import 80 percent of the components required to assemble ships and, as N. Sutovo notes, it often takes several months for cargo to reach the customer. This naturally leads to forced idle time and hence to the diminished competitiveness of national enterprises.

In all these unseemly affairs, transnational corporations enjoy the full support of representatives of imperialist powers. A vivid example of this is the policy of United States toward the Philippines. The USA systematically breaches the previously reached agreement of the governments of the two nations that the Philippine side should carry out at least 40 percent of all reciprocal trade operations. What is more, the U.S. Federal Maritime Commission not so long ago totally banned the loading of ships of the Philippine merchant fleet in American ports. This demonstrates anew the fact that American government agencies are prepared to resort to anything in order to support the corporations.

Under these conditions, cooperation with the Soviet Union is of great importance to young nations. R. Lumauing, deputy minister of Philippine Trade



and Industry, emphasized in a recent pronouncement that "Philippine firms should make use of the services of the Mixed Philippine-Soviet Shipping Company ("Philsov")." Analysis by the Philippine Council of Shippers showed that the terms of "Philsov" are more favorable to them. It is not by chance that more than a hundred ships belonging to the USSR merchant fleet now take on products in that country's ports every year.

"'Philsov' reflects the aspirations of the peoples of our two countries, that are striving to develop mutually advantageous bilateral ties, declared E. M. Kokhuanko, chairman of the company's board of directors, in this regard. "The Philippines are interested in expanding the foreign market for their exports and we are glad and proud that we can rely on the help of the Soviet merchant fleet."

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### ESTONIAN ACADEMICIAN ON CHANGES IN CHINA

Tallinn RAHVA H'A'WL in Estonian 8 Aug 85 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Changing China"]

[Text] At political days and with other audiences as well there have recently been more and more questions relating to PRC foreign policy, PRC-USSR relations, and PRC relations with capitalist countries. There is also interest in the developments of the Chinese economy. At the request of the editors Gabriel Hazak, lecturer at Tartu State University and candidate of jurisprudence replies to these questions.

PRC foreign policy has in recent years been characterized by marked activity. This includes relations with both socialist and capitilist countries.

As far as Soviet-Chinese relations are concerned, both sides are of the opinion that there exist real and ample opportunities to develop these relations. In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee meeting on 11 March this year Comrade M. Gorbachev said, "We would seriously like to improve relations with the PRC, and we are of the opinion that this is quite feasible." The USSR want to actively contribute to a complete overcoming of the negative period in Sino-Soviet relations. PRC leaders have made similar statements.

Certain increased activity can be noted in practice as well. Cultural, scientific, athletic, and other contacts have become more frequent. Recent agreements made in Moscow are deemed to be of decisive importance. Agreements were concluded between the USSR and PRC governments regarding trade and payments for 1986-1990, and an agreement regarding cooperation in economic and scientific-technical fields regarding construction and reconstruction of industrial facilities in China.

According to the trade agreement China will receive from the USSR machines, equipment, transportation equipment, raw materials, construction materials, and chemicals. China in turn will deliver to the USSR agricultural and industrial raw products and consumer goods. The increase in trade is obvious. While the trade between the two countries amounted to 176.8 million rubles in 1981, R223.5 million in 1982, R488.2 million in 1983, and about one billion

rubles in 1984, and according to the new agreement will rise to three billion rubles by 1990. (However, as a comparison let us note that USSR trade with our largest trade partner, GDR, amounts to 15 billion rubles).

In addition to trade Sino-Soviet economic cooperation is also becoming more active. Over five years 17 industrial facilities will be jointly reconstructed in China, and seven will be established. The agreements were concluded after talks held last December in Beijing between I. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, and PRC deputy premier Yao Yilin, and negotiations in Moscow this July.

Certain positive shifts can also be seen in the attitude of the Chinese leadership toward several crucial international questions. For example, Beijing applauded the USSR-U.S. agreement to commence negotiations in Geneva regarding space and nuclear weapons. China has become the second nuclear power after the USSR to assume the obligation not to make first use of nuclear weapons. At the same time there are serious disagreements between the USSR and China in vital international problems. This holds true for topics such as the situation in Kampuchea and around Afghanistan. Thus, while noting certain progress in Sino-Soviet relations in economic, trade, scientific and technical fields there is no reason to simplify to current state of relations between the two countries or to make hasty predictions about the further course of these relations. One should hope, however, that mutual realism allows for further progress in the positive shifts that have become apparent over the last few years in several fields of Sino-Soviet relations.

One should not overlook the recent tour of PRC deputy premier Li Peng to Eastern Europe, in the course of which he held talks in the GDR, Poland and Hungary.

In analyzing the foreign policy trends of PRC the attitude of Beijing to capitalist countries can, of course, not be overlooked. As stated above, there has been remarkable activity in this area as well. Let us mention the recent tour of more than two weeks of Zhao Ziyang, PRC premier, to Western Europe, during which he visited Great Britain, FRG, and the Netherlands. The emphasis was on development of economic and trade relations. Recently Li Xiannian, PRC chairman, paid an official visit to Canada and the U.S. In Washington agreements were signed between the U.S. and PRC regarding peaceful use of nuclear energy, fisheries, and cultural and educational exchanges. According to a representative of the State Department contacts with China regarding sales of U.S. military technology are continuing, but develop slowly and rapid results are not to be expected. However, Washington intends to continue to expand relations with China, especially in the economic field. To date, U.S. capital is participating in 29 Chinese enterprises with approximately \$100 million. In addition, the Americans have invested about \$600 million in petroleum exploration along the Chinese ocean shelf. Still, U.S. capital investments in China amounted in 1984 to only 0.3 percent of all investments made abroad. China is interested in at least doubling its share in U.S. foreign investments. The agreements recently signed in Washington are to serve that end. In order to create more favorable conditions and a sense of security among its partners, the Chinese press has recently emphasized

that the country's foreign exchange reserves are estimated at \$16 billion and that China has almost no foreign debt. China is of course interested in acquiring modern technology, and the Western industrial states are also viewing the Chinese market with great interest, but doubts are evoked precisely by financing opportunities and also by some political factors. This is especially true with regard to technology of a military nature. As a whole, however, further expansion of contacts between China and the capitalist industrial countries is deemed to be quite realistic and promising. This tendency is also to be served by the changed economic concepts of today's China.

After Mao Ze-dong's death soon four modernization programs were proclaimed in China. They affected industry, agriculture, science, and armaments. The aim was to expand the total volume of production fourfold by the turn of the century. The late 70s and early 80s brought about a feeling of optimism in China. Growth in industrial production has always been around ten percent in recent years, in agriculture it has grown by five to seven percent annually. The five year plan was met in three years. The dogmatic standpoints of the Mao period were replaced by a quite pragmatic attitude. However, the new standpoints in Chinese economic policy are tied to two important factors. First, attraction of foreign capital and through it of modern technology, second--a revival of the private sector. An ideological thesis was proclaimed: What was needed was neither American capitalism nor Soviet socialism, but the Chinese version of socialism. Without engaging in polemics about the theoretical-practical bases of such a thesis, one must note that the so-called open door policy with regard to foreign capital, and a reasonably free hand in private enterprise are the most characteristic features of current Chinese economics.

In the spring of 1984 14 coastal zones were granted a special status. All told, there are already 900 mixed-capital firms in China, with assets of more than four billion dollars. There are about 5000 private enterprises in China.

There is great interest in Western countries in the changes in Chinese economy. In a statement made to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Secretary of State G. Shultz said that in his opinion the PRC is currently engaged in "an historic event: the country is putting into effect a courageous reform program whose main features are a great march toward markets and renunciation of obsolete economic doctrines." In China itself these reforms are not at all considered to have such a single purpose. Economic reorganization by including foreign capital and private enterprise has caused both ideological and economic problems. In an editorial of RENMIN RIBAP, organ of the CCP Central Committee, it was pointed out that this could lead to a danger of peaceful rebirth of the party due to corruption and machinations spreading among party and administrative cadres. The newspaper noted that bourgeois ideology and the ill effect of money were threats to the moral fiber of the society.

Yet, development of private enterprise is considered to be the official and long-range trend in Chinese economy. The statement of the CCP's Central Committee on economic reforms says that private enterprise, the so-called

individual and collective economy is a vigorously emerging feature that represents a needed and useful complement for China's socialist economy. The state assumes the obligation to create all needed conditions to advance private initiative and to guarantee its legal protection.

According to RENMIN RIBAO more than 11,000 small trade and service facilities have been rented out to individual and collectives. As an experiment some small industrial facilities have also been handed over to private individuals. According to the newspaper the economic benefit of such measures has been obvious.

According to the newspaper HUNG-QUI the number of persons engaged in private enterprise in trade, services, and industry amounts to 13 million, with private enterprises supplying almost two percent of the country's industrial production and 12 percent of retail trade. Private initiative is expanding also in health care and educational systems and in transportation. According to State Council and CCP Central Committee decrees use of paid labor in the private sector is limited to two helpers and five apprentices, not including relatives. Thus it is no exception to see private enterprises with scores and even hundreds of paid relatives employed.

In summary, private enterprise is establishing itself in China in complicated and contradictory opinion struggles, in spite the fact that the development of the private sector has been decreed to be a basic feature of the Chinese version of socialism.

The largest foreign capital investors in China include Hong Kong (still under the control of Great Britain), U.S., Japan, and FRG. China in turn is taking measures to increase foreign capital interest in the Chinese market. In addition to the establishment of special economic zones legislation pertaining to foreign trade has been revised. The PRC constitution permits foreign capital to participate in the country's economy and guarantees the inviolability of foreign capital. Both mixed enterprises with participation of Chinese capital, and purely foreign owned enterprises are permitted. Many Chinese firms have been granted (or will be granted) markedly increased rights for cooperation with foreign enterprises, including the right to direct agreements. At the same time the state maintains its control over foreign trade and cooperation with foreign firms. This is carried out by regular reporting and controls, as well as through more effective activity of the banks.

In these new conditions several French and Italian automobile firms (Peugot, Fiat) have concluded extensive cooperation agreements to modernize the Chinese automobile industry. Cooperation on the basis of licensing is accompanied by credits extended to China.

Both the activization of the private sector and the incorporation of foreign capital serve, in the words of the Chinese leadership, the aim of rapid modernization of the country's economy and the development of better opportunities to build socialism according to the Chinese version. Time will show what this course will bring about. But it is obvious, that the new economic policy will in one way or another influence all of the PRC's international relations.

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST ON MURUROA, GREENPEACE ACTIVITIES VIEWED

PM281223 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Another explosion"]

[Text] Canberras, 27 Oct--The yield of the explosive nuclear device tested by France this morning on Mururoa atoll in the South Pacific was nearly 15 kilotons, New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer told journalists in Wellington.

The fate of the four crew members of the yacht "Vega," which was taking part in a protest action off Mururoa and was arrested by the French Navy on the eve of the test, is still unknown. According to reports from Wellington, the New Zealand government is studying the circumstances of the arrest of the ship, whose crew includes two of the country's citizens.

The struggle of the environmental protection organization Greenpeace against the French nuclear tests has met with another difficulty too. Its flagship, the tug "Greenpeace," which headed the "peace flotilla" off Mururoa atoll, after its breakdown, arrived in harbor at the New Zealand city of Auckland today. This was after the French authorities had refused the ship, which had suffered a misfortune, permission to enter port in Tahiti for repairs.

In harbor at Auckland the "Greenpeace," which took the place of the "Rainbow Warrior" which was blown up by agents of the French special services, is under the strict guard of the New Zealand police, who rear a repetition of the sabotage.

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CSO: 1807/072

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN BURDENS ISLAMABAD ECONOMY

LD162204 Moscow World Service in English 1531 GMT 18 Oct 85

[Commentary by Ivan Lavrov]

[Excerpts] According to press reports, at his meeting with ranking White House officials, Pakistan's Finance Minister, Mahbubul Haq discussed a new military and economic deal worth \$6 billion.

Now, comments on that from Ivan Lavrov. This is what he writes.

In seeking a new deal, Pakistan must be weighing up what it has gained by the previous one, signed in 1981.

Its relations with India have been very strained, with border clashes growing in frequency. What is more, Pakistan is increasingly getting involved in military provocations against Afghanistan. Its servicemen have been taking a direct part in such operations. In one held in Khost area, scores of them have been killed or wounded.

Opposition parties inside Pakistan rightly blame the border tensions on the purchase of American arms. An opposition leader, (Adgar Khan) has warned about the extreme danger of United States attempt to get Pakistan to spoil its relations with neighbors. This policy is to blame for their mistrust of Pakistan and serves only to promote the interests of the United States. The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy is urging Islamabad to give up its course of militarization also because the American weapons cost the nation too much. For the \$3.2 billion worth of aid, Pakistan is to pay back some \$4.5 billion. Purchases of costly equipment are largely responsible for its soaring foreign debt which at the moment stands at a record \$13 billion. One result is a partial loss of sovereignty. In return for its aid, Washington got the right to use Pakistani territory for large-scale military activities. It is laying in arms stores and building air-strips, barracks, and missile launch pads on vast tracks of the Makran coast. According to the Pakistani press, this zone has been placed out of bounds to the local authorities and population.

According to the opposition, the country's ailing economy is yet another reason why Pakistan should restore good political and economic relations with neighbors. The government has had to stop work on its current 5-year

development program because of continually rising military expenditure. General Zia's regime is trying unsuccessfully to curb inflation and stop foreign exchange reserves from falling further. The Pakistani currency has dropped in value by 40 percent in the past 3 years alone. Meanwhile, taxes, rent, and fares are rapidly growing. Pakistan could improve its economic standing if it could use the whole of the \$3.2 billion aid as it thinks fit. But under American terms, it is to buy American arms and manufactured goods. The United States gives Pakistan no aid to finance vital development projects. It is simply not interested in the nation's social and economic development. It is again offering aid on terms that (?throw) a new heavy strain on Pakistan's finances and more tension on its borders.

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CSO: 1812/27



MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

UN SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF MIDDLE EAST ISSUE VIEWED

LD100804 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Oct 85

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Kachanov]

[Text] The UN Security Council is meeting today at the request of the Non-aligned Movement, to consider the Near East problem, including the Palestinian question. A decision to request the convocation of a session on this acute problem was adopted at the September conference of foreign ministers of the nonaligned states in Luanda. Here is a latest news commentary. At the microphone is Yevgeniy Kachanov:

The raising of the Near East question in comprehensive form in the UN Security Council above all attests to the great attention devoted to it by one of the most influential forces of modern times, the Nonaligned Movement. It must be noted that most of the Council's decisions adopted since 1967, that is, since Israel's seizure of territory from neighboring Arab countries, are of a partial nature. They deal with specific questions of a New East settlement. But, they, too, remain to this day on paper, as ruling circles of Western countries, first and foremost the United States, block their implementation in full, favor Israel, and even encourage her to carry out increasingly aggressive actions against the Arab states.

Here is the latest example: After the unprovoked attack on sovereign Tunisia, Washington effectively took the aggressor into its protection, speaking of Israel's so-called legitimate right to defend itself. Nor does the so-called Reagan plan for the Near East, from which the U.S. Administration proceeds in its policy of separate deals, bear any relation to a true settlement of the problem.

At the same time, the principles of a truly just Near East settlement, proposed by the Soviet Union, are widely known, and they are supported by the majority of the world community's member states.

I remind you that one of this plan's fundamental points is the strict observance of the principle of the impermissibility of seizing foreign territory by means of aggression. For it is this reason that all the Israeli-occupied Arab territory since 1967 must be returned unconditionally. The Palestine Arab peoples' inalienable right to self-determination and to the

setting up of their own independent state must be guaranteed in practice. Lastly, international guarantees for the settlement must be drafted and adopted. Moreover, the role of guarantor may be played by the Security Council, or the Council as a whole. A suitable instrument for the implementation of these principles has also been proposed. I am thinking of the Soviet initiative to convene an international conference on the Near East, with all countries concerned taking part, including the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I will add that in one form or another these principles, including the proposal for an international conference, were approved by an overwhelming majority of votes at the previous UN General Assembly session [words indistinct], now, the world community's attention is again drawn to a comprehensive resolution of the Near East problem, this time within the Security Council framework.

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CSO: 1807/085

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SOVIET SOLDIERS 'FULFILLING INTERNATIONAL DUTY' IN AFGHANISTAN

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 13 Oct 85 p 3

[Interview with Klych Kuliyeu, national writer of Turkmenistan, by I. Pasevyeu; date and place not given]

[Text] For 2 weeks, a delegation of the USSR Union of Writers headed by Klych Kuliyeu, national writer of Turkmenistan and corresponding member of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences, visited the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The newspaper's nonstaff correspondent met with the writer and asked him to tell about the trip.

[Question] Klych Mamedovich, what was the purpose of the trip?

[Answer] In the first place, in the course of the meetings with colleagues, we discussed the prospects for the further development of the friendly creative ties between the USSR Union of Writers and the Afghan Union of Writers. This is the main thing.

In addition, I wanted to meet the future heroes of the book that I have been working on in recent years. This is the trilogy "Burya nad Kabulom" [Storm Over Kabul], in which I intend to reflect the fundamental changes that have taken place in the social and political life of the friendly country. The first book describes the events from the monarchy of Zahir Shah to the so-called Republic of Daud. The second depicts what took place from that time until the April revolution. The third book involves the tremendous historical changes in the country after the April revolution that are occurring literally in our time. I am now finishing work on the first book.

Real persons participate in the events that I write about, specifically Taraki, Babrak Karmal and others who led the democratic movement against the monarchy of Zahir Shah. It was precisely several of them with whom I especially wanted to meet and talk.

[Question] This was surely not the first time that you have been to Kabul?

[Answer] True. Afghanistan is a rather well-known country for me. Working from 1957 through 1960 as an adviser to the Soviet Embassy in Afghanistan, I had the opportunity to get to know its state and hard-working people in detail.

In those years, however, I looked upon the events taking place through the eyes of a diplomat. It became necessary for me to study and interpret the questions of interest to me as a writer. The artistic investigation of any subject is significantly different from a scientific or political study. It does presuppose such aspects of study but has other aspects as well--here a role is played by moods, colors and smells, which cannot be reproduced directly.

[Question] Klych Mamedovich, since you are writing about that time that you know well, could you briefly tell about it, so that our readers can get an idea of the development of the problem?

[Answer] You know, in those years, many diplomats and politicians abroad thought that a stable situation was developing in Afghanistan, that Zahir Shah, having run the country for almost four decades, knew how to ensure a permanent equilibrium and tranquility there, excluding any possibility of outbursts of discontent and revolt. Nothing but peace and quiet.

That is why the fundamental historical events that took place in Afghanistan in recent years were not expected either by the country's friends or its foes.

Of considerable importance, of course, is the materialization of these events and the revelation of the role of the progressive democratic forces that were able to change the fate of the Afghan people and open the way to a new life.

Soviet writers have already done a great deal to carry out this task. Novels, tales, plays, short stories and essays have been written. And I would like to make my contribution to this noble effort.

[Question] And just as the country itself is not new to you, the Afghan theme is not new to your works?

[Answer] Quite right. I published the trilogy "Posol emira" [Ambassador of the Emir], in which I sought to show the sources of Soviet-Afghan friendship in the 1919 period. The main theme of the trilogy is the sending of the first diplomatic mission to Moscow by Emir Amanulla Khan to meet with V.I. Lenin.

Lenin then said that despite all of the difficulties, we, the young Soviet republic, supported the just anti-imperialist struggle of Afghanistan for national independence.

And our current truly fraternal and friendly attitude toward that country is in fact a continuation of that unswerving policy of the love of peace and friendship, the basic principles of which were established by V.I. Lenin.

[Question] Were you able to meet with the people with whom you planned to meet and how successful was the trip as a whole?

[Answer] It was a very interesting trip, especially since I came to the country a quarter of a century after having lived there. Naturally, I very much wanted to see and feel those changes that had taken place in recent years.

A saw a new Afghanistan, in the literal sense of the word. A country with no despotic monarchy, with no degradation or exploitation. A free country fighting for its own happiness and progress.

I saw many people who will be heroes in my novel. Of great interest were meetings with Dastagir Pandzheri, member of the Politburo of the NDPA [National Democratic Party of Afghanistan] and one of the founders of this party, chairman of the Afghan Union of Writers, a well-known poet, and a very active fighter against the monarchy and the reactionary regime of Daud, and with other leaders of the union and writers.

D. Pandzheri went into detail about the multifaceted work being carried on by the country's Union of Writers, which numbers more than 130 authors. He stressed that the overwhelming majority of Afghan writers voluntarily responded to the appeal of the NDPA and actively joined in the common struggle of the people against the intrigues of reactionary forces for the formation of a new Afghanistan. The chairman of the union noted with gratitude the continual assistance that the writers' organization of the Soviet Union is providing to its Afghan colleagues. Delegations of Soviet writers often visit the country and many works of Afghan comrades have been translated into the languages of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, including Turkmen.

We benefited greatly from the meeting with Solayman Laeq, member of the NDPA Central Committee, minister of nationalities and tribal affairs, president of the Afghan Academy of Sciences, and an important poet. It was interesting to us to find out about the measures that the party and government of the republic are carrying out to emancipate the nationalities oppressed in the recent past and to provide for their equality before the law. The minister presented specific examples that give evidence of the new interrelationships between the nationalities and tribes and of their joint struggle against the dushmans. He noted the continuous ties between the country's scientists and the USSR Academy of Sciences as well as the Uzbek and Tajik academies of science and he expressed the desire to establish permanent contact with the scientists of our republic.

I recall meetings and conversations with other statesmen, but doubtless the most significant was the meeting with Babrak Karmal, head of the People's Republic of Afghanistan and the NDPA, who, despite his many duties, found time to talk to us. Our conversation lasted almost two hours.

He explained to us some aspects of the revolutionary-democratic movement in the country. He emphasized the tremendous role of writers, including Soviet writers, in objectively reflecting the historical events in Afghanistan

I presented him the trilogy "Posol emir" and briefly told of the content of the novel.

Babrak Karmal noted that from the first days of the October Revolution the Afghan people felt the truly friendly support of the young Soviet republic headed by the great Lenin. He spoke very approvingly of my intention to write a new trilogy about his country.

In regard to the general political situation in the country, he said that in Afghanistan one is seeing the reflection of the struggle that is taking place in the world between progressive and reactionary forces. And it is no accident that reactionary imperialist forces are providing direct and constantly expanding aid to the dushmans. Babrak Karmal greatly appreciated the fraternal help of the Soviet Union in the current situation.

From the first days of its establishment, our country has been carrying on the struggle for peace. All of us are very familiar with the peaceful initiatives that the party and government of the USSR have presented in recent months. The Soviet people want very much for the skies to be peaceful in neighboring friendly Afghanistan and for its people to have the opportunity to build a new life independently. This is precisely why our parties are fulfilling their international duty in helping their Afghan friends.

We met with our soldiers of the limited contingent as well as with the warriors of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. These meetings are unforgettable. There were also many conversations with farmers, workers, teachers, scientists and young people. Our Afghan colleagues also participated in these meetings.

[Question] Klych Mamedovich, a number of Turkmen live in Afghanistan. Did you also meet with them?

[Answer] Yes, we had a special meeting with representatives of the Turkmen intelligentsia living in Kabul. They work in cultural and educational institutions including newspapers, magazines and radio. The journal BRATSKIYE NARODY is published there in Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen and other languages. The chief editor of this journal is the Turkman Shamukammed Yazmaz.

At the meeting, our compatriots spoke of the fact that in the regions where Turkmen live schools are now being opened, newspapers are being published, and they are receiving literature in the Turkmen language. There was nothing like that before.

The intelligentsia is showing great interest in the literary life of our republic. They celebrated the 250th anniversary of the great Makhtumkuli and the anniversary of Zelili. Newspapers and magazines published articles, poems and reproductions of paintings of our artists.

They told us that as a whole the Turkmen living in this country are reacting positively to the measures of the new authority, even though the dushmans, relying on the support of the prosperous strata, are striving to draw

unsophisticated people into the antirevolutionary movement. But the overwhelming majority of them are resisting this in every way possible.

We visited the boarding school "Vatan" built with the help of Soviet soldiers on the outskirts of Kabul, where they educate orphans whose parents died in the fight. The state is equally concerned about the children of the defenders of the revolution and the children of those who became its enemy out of foolishness or deceit. This act of mercy is attracting attention. Normal conditions have been created for the life and studies of the little children. Many of them come to our country to receive a secondary and higher education.

We saw a lot and it is impossible to tell about it all. The country is building a new life. This is not an easy matter. And, as the Afghans kept telling us, it is good that they have a reliable friend on this path--the Soviet Union. I am full of impressions. I am working hard to fulfill my duty as a writer more rapidly and better, to tell the readers about an exquisite country and its heroic people.

9746

CSO: 1807/059

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

### ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH DRA

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by V. Baykov, PRAVDA staff correspondent: "Afghan Industry's Firstborn"]

[Text. Kabul, [Aug] 8. Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation is developing fruitfully. Joint agreements concluded at different times make provision for assisting the Afghan side in the construction of numerous enterprises and installations. They comprise the foundation of an independent Afghan economy and create reliable prerequisites for the country's further progress along the road of socioeconomic reforms.

Twenty-five years have passed since the opening of the Dzhangalak Automotive Repair Plant, which plays an exceptionally important role in the development of Afghanistan's productive forces. The country's only modern industrial enterprise, which has an auto repair shop, a machine shop, and a foundry, produces many types of metal products: bridge girders, motor-road tunnel columns, hydraulic seals for water conduits, and spare parts for construction equipment--this is only a short list of the products manufactured by the plant's workers.

The Dzhangalak collective, recognizing the importance of the tasks confronting them, is continuously increasing the enterprise's output. In the last 5 years, output increased by almost 22 percent; four-fifths of the increase was the result of higher labor productivity. A group of Soviet specialists headed by A. Rovnyy is helping the Afghan collectives. Afghans comment very warmly on their Soviet friends: chief engineer E. Makarychev, construction engineer S. Garayev, electrician P. Shirokov, technologist V. Volkov, and others.

The enterprise is proud of its "golden fund"--its labor veterans. Many highly skilled workers started their labor career at the enterprise and adopted the experience of Soviet specialists. Asan Sakhab built the plant with his own hands. He is now the chief of the plant's foundry. I made the acquaintance of other veterans in the auto repair shop.

"Gulyam Mokhammad," a smiling black-haired man with graying temples said while shaking my hand firmly and added: "In Russian my name is Gennadiy Mikhaylovich. This is what my Soviet friends call me."



"Gennadiy Mikhaylovich" said that he had worked at the plant from its inception. He acquired his specialty at the plant and then studied in the Soviet Union.

"What changes took place in the life of the working man after the April revolution?"

"We are ever aware of the concern of people's power for our welfare. Our plant has opened a canteen, a polyclinic, a kindergarten, and has set aside buses to transport workers living far from the enterprise. Management pays workers an additional 20 percent from plant revenues. The construction of two dormitories has begun and the construction of a residential quarter for workers is planned. They realize that they are working for themselves and therefore they try to do their best.

The plant's collective prepared a beautiful present for its anniversary. In the course of the reconstruction of the plant, which began almost 2 years ago, the construction of a new auto repair shop outfitted with sophisticated Soviet equipment was completed in its entirety.

5013

CSO: 1825/104

SITUATION IN LEBANON AFTER ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL EXPLAINED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 31, 30 Jul 85 pp 4-5

/Article by P. Demchenko: "The Gordian Knot of Lebanon"/

/Text/ Many of our readers ask why a tense situation prevails in Lebanon even after the Israeli forces withdrew from its territory. Surely the national Army and the security service can restore order.

Reports about people shooting again and again in Lebanon have not left the pages of the press for many years now. Even now the situation in this Arab country is so hot and entangled that one can hardly be so bold as to foretell when the blood-letting will finally end and peace will reign once again.

Yet, it would seem that all the foundations for peace exist: a government of national unity exists, the national Army has been restored, there are committees for coordinating the activities of political forces, a commission for reconciliation, etc. At times it seems that life will return to its normal course at any minute; but suddenly the devil of death and destruction once again gains the upper hand.

The cause for such a turn of events lies in the fact that diverse internal and external forces have become involved in the Lebanese conflict. For a long time now the country has been the object of direct interference from Israel, the USA and a number of other governments; and it lives in a situation of unabating opposition by political and religious groups.

The Deep Roots

Historically it developed that representatives of more than 15 religious orientations, communities and sects live on the small territory occupied by Lebanon (10.4 thousand square kilometers). For many centuries (during both the Ottoman period and later during French colonial supremacy) the powers strived to keep adherents of the various religious convictions from uniting. Quite the opposite, they wanted them to live separately.

Therefore, from the time of the concession of independence to Lebanon in 1943, power in the country was created on the basis of confessionalism, i.e., not according to party representation in the organs of power. As a matter of fact, the numerical proportion among various religious communities changed over time; but the structure of the organs of control remained the same as in 1943.

At that time it was determined that the majority in the country were the Catholic Maronites (they were given the post of president of the republic). After them were the Sunni Muslims who received the position of prime minister, then the Shiites (the position of chairman of parliament), etc. By the start of the 1970's it became clear that the Shiites had reached first place in numbers, while remaining, as a whole, the most impoverished sector of the population. The Maronites moved to third place, while, as before, significantly outstripping the other communities through their role in big business and the political sphere, and by their standard of living and education. Let us not forget that within each community the process of class stratification continued. When a social explosion became inevitable, the feudal upper class was able to attach a religious coloration to the civil war which flared in 1975.

#### "We Ourselves Must Determine Our Fate"

But that is not the only element in the Lebanese crisis. Palestinian refugees have appeared on Lebanese territory since 1948, i.e., since the creation of the Government of Israel. The number of refugees in Lebanon significantly increased after Tel Aviv seized the West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza and East Jerusalem, i.e., all the Palestinian lands, in 1967. Since the beginning of the 1970's the principal centers and detachments of the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization have moved to Lebanon. The attitude of the various Lebanese powers toward them was not uniform.

Thus, the left parties and a number of Muslim groups supported the struggle of the Palestinians against Israel. The Kata'ib Maronite Party saw in the Palestinian presence a disruption of the religious balance in favor of the Muslims (the Palestinians are mainly Sunnis). They demanded the withdrawal of the PLO from Lebanese territory and the expulsion of the refugees from territory under their control. And when Israel attacked Lebanon and seized its southern territory and West Beirut in June 1982, Kata'ib collaborated with the aggressor primarily on an anti-Palestinian basis.

The aggressors were repulsed by the Palestinians and fighting brotherhoods of the left parties, including the Communists. Syrian units also helped to repulse the aggressors from Beirut and the Bekaa Valley. Later the Shiites also actively enlisted in partisan activities as a result of the protracted occupation and the arbitrariness of the aggressors.

The ranks of the fighters included members of extremist organizations oriented toward Iran, such as Hizb Allah ("Party of Allah") and al-Jihad al Islami ("Holy War of Islam"), and members of the Amal ("Hope") movement which was headed by N. Berri and held a moderate position on many issues. The Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front led the struggle. In the end it forced the Israelis to abandon the captured lands.

It must be stated that American, French and Italian units introduced under the flag of "Multinational Forces" were forced to clear out of Lebanon even earlier under blows from partisans and sabotage groups. On the whole, the movement against the occupying forces took on a rather wide scale and united various forces in its ranks.

At a conference of Arabian communist parties which took place in June of the current year, the following political conclusion was drawn from the above fact: "...The forced decision by Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon attests to the fact that Tel Aviv and Washington are not omnipotent, and that Arabs themselves can determine their fate in accordance with the patriotic will."

#### What Impedes Peace?

And then, at the very same time when it became clear that Israeli forces were withdrawing from Lebanon, unforeseen events began occurring. Battles flared up in West Beirut and its outskirts, at first between the Amal detachments and the Sunni party "Murabitun." It concerned who was to reign supreme in that part of the capital. The Amal adherents gained the upper hand and soon demanded that the inhabitants of the three Palestinian camps located there (Sabra, Shatila and Burj al Barajna) surrender their weapons. At first they refused. Stormy debates arose, and a minor incident in the middle of May was sufficient to set off cannon and automatic weapons.

The battles were protracted and cruel. Syrian intervention helped to end them; but the Sabra camp was taken by storm, and bulldozers began to raise it to the ground. The residents were told, "Go away." But there was nowhere for them to go. Their lands had been seized by Israel many years ago. About 60 thousand persons lived in the three camps, according to rough calculations. About 25 thousand were forced out into the Bekaa Valley. They await their future destiny.

The fighting in the Palestinian camps had hardly subsided when the lamentable incident of the seizure of the American airliner began. To this day it is unclear which Shiite organization executed that piratical act, particularly since they demanded the release of 766 prisoners in Israel's Atlit prison in exchange for the American hostages. (The prison contains representatives of various Lebanese groups.) However, it is well known that in the end the hostages turned up under the control of N. Berri, and Syrian intervention aided their liberation.

But all of these events could not eclipse the conflict continuing in the South of Lebanon. It consists in the fact that, while withdrawing, the Israelis transferred control over the border region to their mercenaries in the Maronite Army of Lahad. (It musters about two thousand men, mainly Christians.) They prevent the Lebanese Christians and Muslims who were expelled at the time of the occupation and Palestinians based in Lebanon from returning to their villages. Countless skirmishes occur on that soil. From time to time Israel intervenes in them as it attempts to ensure itself its notorious "security zone."

And what role does the Lebanese Army place in all of this? It is well known that it practically disintegrated during the civil war of 1975-76. It was restored in 1983-84 and now numbers 30-35 thousand officers and enlisted men, or even more, according to certain data. It was restored on the principles of confessionalism, but a special committee consisting of representatives of several parties was created for its high command.

However, the functions of the Army are quite limited. It is charged with guarding roads leading from Beirut to the South and East, governmental institutions and the residence of the President. It also maintains order on the "green line" which divides Beirut into eastern and western sectors. Army units are not permitted into the eastern half where detachments of Kata'ib are supreme.

Security in West Beirut is entrusted to the 6th Brigade, which is formed mainly of Shiites. Together with Amal, it stormed the Palestinian camps. In accordance with an understanding among the political leaders of the nation, the Army may not intervene in conflicts which flare up among the various Lebanese groups, even when the conflicts develop into exchanges of fire. Nor is the Army sent to the South to resist the Israelis.

It is felt that, in this manner, by placing the officers and enlisted men to the side, out of politics, it will be possible to preserve the fighting spirit of the military units and to keep them safe from new decay in conditions of continuing intercommunal confrontations in Lebanon.

Now, when Lebanon once again is under threat of American encroachment, the country is in particular need of national unity and cohesion. In resisting the occupying forces, the Lebanese were able to show their freedom-loving, inflexible character. No less will is required to bring order within the country, and discord and arrive at a true national accord, in order to begin restoring the economy and end their vulnerability to external threats once and for all.

13109/12276  
CSO: 1807/043

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### AFRICA INSTITUTE AIDE ASSAILS TNC ACTIVITY IN REGION

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Ye. Tarabrin, doctor of historical sciences; chief, Department of International Problems, Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Robbery and Graft. What Transnational Corporations Are Doing in Africa"]

[Text] Of late there have been two constant themes in numerous pronouncements by Western politicians and in materials disseminated by the mass media of the USA and other imperialist countries. The first is the "prosperous free society"; the second is the difficult, complex situation of the developing, especially African, countries.

While it is unquestionably true that some are prospering in North America, Western Europe and Japan, the glorification of the well-being of capitalist countries is easily refuted by reports of rising unemployment, the intensification of the strike movement, lockouts, enterprise shutdowns, bankruptcies, and rampant inflation.

However, the economic plight of the great majority of independent African countries is unquestionably a source of serious concern that has been intensified by several years of drought. But natural calamities are not the only problem. They are not the main enemy of the African continent. After all, the economic situation of countries that were not beset by natural calamities also seriously worsened. What has led the economy of African countries to stagnation in the '80's?

After the colonies won their political independence, a complex system of relations called neocolonialism, developed between them and the former mother country. It preserved the exploitation of the liberated countries and reproduced it in new forms. The principal role here is played by transnational corporations (TNC's).

Direct capital investments, loans and credits are the primary source of TNC superprofits in the developing countries. Here are specific data from official Western statistics. The profit norm for direct capital investments of American transnational corporations in the developing countries was 22.5 percent in the early '80's. The net influx of TNC investments in Africa during a decade (1970-1980) was \$10.4 billion while the volume of profits

exported to investing countries was \$23.9 billion. The situation with private credits and interest payments on them is still more striking. In 1979, the latter even exceeded total profits and dividends. In 1981, Africa received \$8.2 billion from private creditors and paid them \$8.7 billion. Thus, liberated countries pay TNC's and financial monopolies more than they receive from them.

We note immediately that African countries are unable to defray these costs from export revenues. Their export earnings declined from \$95.5 million in 1980 to \$50 million in 1984. Therefore, in order to settle accounts with private creditors and to make interest payments, liberated countries are compelled to take out loans, which only tightens the debt noose still more. On the whole, the activity of TNC's and the tactics of private creditors have become basic factors in the catastrophic situation in independent Africa's economy.

The demands of the liberated countries to limit the tyranny of the TNC's and to abandon the rigid financial policy characteristically do not meet with a positive response. To the contrary, the Western powers, as was the case in the last meeting of the "seven," for example, in Bonn, offer a single prescription for "improving" the economic situation of these countries: "the promotion of direct private capital investment in their industrial development."

What are the uses to which TNC's put their plunder in their own countries?

As is known, recent years have been noteworthy for the intensification of the economic crisis in the leading capitalist countries. The ruling circles are trying to resolve the crisis by cutting government spending primarily by reducing expenditures on social security, public health and public education. Dramatic increase in strike activity has been the response of the working people in these countries. Let us recall the heroic strike of British miners and dock workers, U.S. air controllers, government employees in Sweden, and other class battles.

Such a turn of events is not in the least to the liking of the TNC's. Using superprofits, including those extracted from the developing countries, they made certain concessions to certain categories of working people--personnel in the leading branches. Private firms and insurance companies took it upon themselves to provide a considerable share of the social services to the blue- and white-collar workers that interest them, thereby creating a unique "workers' neoaristocracy." At the same time, the nationalized sector of the economy and social services, such as the national health service established in Great Britain following the war, began to be transferred to the private sector.

Thus, by maneuvering superprofits, TNC's create a privileged stratum, foster reformist illusions, and form the new social support of the bourgeoisie. TNC's try to soften the protest of the working masses and to strengthen their economic and political positions at the same time. In the USA, for example, the most authoritative representatives of monopoly capital even formulated and



advanced the entrepreneurial "social strategy" which is designed to protect them against fluctuating conditions in the economy and social upheavals.

As Fidel Castro noted in his report at the Seventh Conference of Nonaligned Countries, TNC's receive up to \$100 billion in additional revenues from the manipulation of prices in the foreign trade sphere of these countries alone. But then the TNC's can use this money within the framework of the "social responsibility of business" to even differentiate wages and to create more favorable living conditions for some of their personnel.

At the same time, in the activity of the TNC's, there is no place for measures associated with rendering assistance of Africa. They do not heed the resolution of the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly on the "Critical Economic Situation in Africa or the report of the UN Conference "On the Alarming Situation in Africa." It is appropriate to note that the latter document states that 20 of that continent's countries that have suffered the most from the drought must receive a total \$1.6 billion in emergency aid, which is a negligible percent of the profits taken by TNC's from the continent.

Nevertheless, TNC's remain deaf to the needs and problems of the liberated countries. Even the British journal ECONOMIST recently noted that the activity of TNC's is detrimental to their national interests and increases the technological gap between these countries and the industrially developed countries. Indeed, robbery never brings good to the robbery victim, but only fills the pockets of the robber.

And even the "charitable" functions of the TNC's in their own countries are far from altruism. They are part and parcel of the tactics of the big bourgeoisie, which are aimed at splitting the labor movement, at setting various segments of the movement against others, and at inflicting blows on the trade unions. TNC's willingly use some of the profits realized in the development countries for this purpose.

There is yet another characteristic circumstance. By nurturing individual strata of the working class and the middle class at the expense of Africa, in particular, the TNC's cultivate in them a sense of the "exclusiveness" of their status. The result in the USA and a number of other West European countries is not only antagonism between privileged strata and other categories of working people trying to improve their working conditions. Among members of the "workers' neoaristocracy," there is racism and hatred of blacks, colored people and all "non-whites" and they often regard the struggle of African peoples for economic independence and against predatory exploitation by the TNC's as virtual encroachments on their own interests.

Thus, TNC'S are not only fierce exploiters of liberated countries, but also actively use part of their enormous profits to establish a "fifth column" in the labor movement of their own countries and to encourage vestiges of imperial sentiments and ambitions among some segments of the population. This has always been one of the objectives of neocolonialism.



Progressive forces, in both the liberated countries and in the industrially developed capitalist countries, are beginning to understand more and more how hostile the activity of TNC's is to the true interests of the peoples. Therefore the struggle against the neocolonialist, exploitive and divisive policy of transnational corporations vis-a-vis the labor movement is growing and will intensify everywhere.

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